

AN INQUIRY INTO THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRANT GENERATION ON
OFFENDING AND VICTIMIZATION TRAJECTORIES

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated entirely to my parents, my older brother and sister, and extended family. Without your extensive support throughout my life, this would not have been possible, and my dreams would have remained sin apoyo ni realizados. Gracias por todo.

ABSTRACT

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As scholarship continues to explore immigrant involvement in crime, immigrant-focused, criminological inquiries at the individual-level have only begun to gather traction. While the bulk of available evidence suggests earlier immigrant generations fare better on antisocial outcomes, deliberate study into immigrant generational status and its association with both criminal offending and victimization are few and far between. Using a mixture of open and restricted traditional and monthly calendar data from the Pathways to Desistance study, this study examines how immigrant generations—five in total ranging from first-generation to 3.5-generation—impact criminal offending and violent victimization trajectories from adolescence to early adulthood. Moreover, the current study examines and controls for time-invariant and time-variant factors relevant to assimilationist theories, developmental and life-course perspectives, and the victim-offender overlap. The results suggest immigrant generation had little impact on aggressive criminal offending and offending and victimization trajectories examined jointly; however, early immigrant generations were more likely to predict membership to some higher violent victimization trajectories. These findings may reflect how immigrant resiliencies against offending and victimization outcomes engage with the criminal justice experiences of the sample to further disadvantage individuals closer to the immigrant designation.

KEY WORDS: Immigration and crime, Immigration and victimization, Criminal offending, Violent victimization, Assimilation, Acculturation, Developmental and life-course, Group-based trajectory modeling, Pathways to Desistance, Immigrant paradox

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Immigration in the United States (U.S.) can best be characterized by its evolution in social-legal spaces and the contemporary dimensions of its public discourse. As early as the 1920s, with the establishment of the Immigrant Restriction Act of 1924, the notion of immigration as a source of threat and trouble has long since remained a residual force in the minds of those who reside and integrate into U.S. environments (Lilly et al., 2018). Through the last 100 years, immigrants have been an attributed cause for many societal ills. As Chavez (2013) emphasized in his detailed account of the Latino threat narrative, immigrants (predominately Latinos) occupy a contradictory position in American society. Not only do migrants contend with unsupported attributed myths, they have actually excelled across many dimensions of social mobility, with immigrant status emerging as an important resilient factor (Waters & Kasinitz, 2021). As Chavez (2013) puts it, they [immigrants] are “immersed in the flow of history, not stuck in some immutable, folkloric time warp” (p. 71). Still, there persists a notable undercurrent that connects immigration to crime.

As the threat of migrants permeated the American meta throughout the twentieth century, so did greater connections between being an immigrant, illegality, and criminality solidify. Following the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the “othering” effect, particularly between Latina/o/x migrants, began to show its teeth. By the 1970s, the immigrant and Latino threat narrative had penetrated the social fabric as the rhetoric behind immigration linked legality and nativity to integral aspects of being American (Chavez, 2013; Kretsedemas, 2014). In this way, since many of the so-called

“illegals” were coming from Latin America, even native-born Hispanics and Latina/o/xs were linked with illegality and the various immigrant-criminal myths it conjured (Chouhy & Madero-Hernandez, 2019).

In the 1980s, the Immigration and Reform Control Act of 1986 was enacted to reduce unauthorized immigration by providing amnesty to more than 3 million undocumented immigrants. This sparked a harsh response in the 1990s as much of immigrant-focused federal legislation criminalized many aspects surrounding migration and settlement in the U.S. (e.g., Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996). After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, immigration reform changed drastically following a slew of subsequent federal legislation, including the creation and restructuring of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and categorization of its many agencies (e.g., Immigration and Customs Enforcement, United States Citizenship and Immigration Services) (LeMay, 2019). These changes helped secure an increased federal system of crimmigration—or the criminalization of immigration law—that enlisted state and local entities to help curb immigration and remove immigrant criminal offenders (e.g., unlawful entry violators, violent offenders) (Stumpf, 2006). This national trend also connected immigration with criminal offending. Regardless of how the language and terms used by American institutions evolve, the discourse today surrounding the negative framing of immigration and illegality continues (Alvord & Menjívar, 2021; Solis, 2003). However, as will be shown, much of this proliferation of the criminal immigrant is largely unfounded in the empirical literature.

The Immigrant Paradox of Crime and Victimization

The immigrant-crime link persists as a salient relationship worthy of continued exploration. The current public discourse surrounding immigration and crime retains a similar timbre to that of prior decades: immigrants are the ones bringing crime to the U.S. and its communities. This assertion, or its sentiments, is misleading and without merit for various reasons. First, as demonstrated by the bulk of prior research studies, it is actually first-generation immigrants who are the least likely to engage in criminal activity (Bankston III & Zhou, 1997; Bersani, 2014a; Bersani, 2014b; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Bersani et al., 2018; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Bui, 2009; Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Chavez, 2018; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; DiPietro et al., 2015; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2013; Lopez & Miller, 2011; McCann et al., 2021; Neilsen & Martínez, 2011; Orrick et al., 2021a; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Rojas-Gaona et al., 2015; Rojas-Gaona & Madero-Hernandez, 2018; Rumbaut, 2005; Sampson et al., 2005; Sampson, 2008; Titzmann et al., 2008; Vaughn et al., 2014a; Vaughn et al., 2014b; Vaughn et al., 2015; Vaughn & Salas-Wright, 2018; Wolff et al., 2018). Even at greater or more aggregate levels of analysis, the influences of immigrant communities and enclaves, often through the variable study of immigrant concentration and destination cities, tend to have crime neutralization effects (Kubrin & Mioduszewski, 2018; Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). This has led to the adoption of the term “immigrant paradox” to describe the negative or null relationship between immigration and crime. This trend also centers on some ethnic groupings, like Hispanics or Latina/o/xs, as research demonstrates that belonging to certain ethnicities

also promotes refrainment from criminogenic behaviors (Chavez, 2018; Rojas-Gaona & Madero-Hernandez, 2018).

In the case of victimization, the immigrant paradox also persists. The literature generally shows that early generation immigrants are the least likely to be victims of crime, specifically violent crime (Antunes & Ahlin, 2021; Biafora & Warheit, 2007; Bucher et al., 2010; Fussell, 2011; Hong et al., 2014; Koo et al. 2012a, 2012b; Luo & Bouffard, 2016; MacDonald & Saunders, 2012; Peguero, 2008, 2009, 2013; Peguero et al., 2021a; Sabina et al., 2013; Yang et al., 2021; Zavala & Peguero, 2017). On its surface, this conclusion may seem somewhat contradictory. Early immigrant generations often belong to some of the most disadvantaged parts of American society. Immigrants, particularly those with less secure socio-legal statuses, often exhibit a sense of vulnerability with a unique combination of backgrounds and experiences that may increase exposure to violence (Iwama, 2018). Yet, early generation immigrants exhibit resiliency in many situations against many antisocial outcomes, including violent victimization. The literature often attributes this to a variety of factors, like social bonds to family and school; however, this literature is still growing and changing. As it stands, there is a continued need to add to the descriptive nature of this relationship and further examine the etiology of this common resiliency. As such, the gaps that need most addressing in the prior research come from understanding immigrant-crime and immigrant-victimization from two separate *and* overlapping avenues.

The first gap comes from understanding immigrant generational involvement in criminal offending and violent victimization within the same context. Despite the abundance of research into the victim-offender overlap, there remains a dearth of

research among and within immigrant populations (Eggers & Jennings, 2014; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Lopez & Miller, 2021; Mammadov et al., 2020; Miller, 2012; Peguero & Jiang, 2014; Peguero et al., 2021a; Wong, 2017; Yang et al., 2021). Offending and victimization are intricately linked and exhibit non-recursive influences on another; however, they tend to be examined separately across literature that involves immigrant populations. Among studies that have considered both immigrant offending and victimization factors, there are no cohesive examinations that consider more individual and holistic contexts like the life-course.

As such, the second gap comes from examining immigrant generational involvement and differences in crime and victimization over time. Much of the available research on these topics tends to incorporate cross-sectional designs that limit inferences from temporally important changes (or stable points) to an individual's behavior. Naturally, applying individual-level and longitudinal approaches—more specifically, trajectory analyses—to immigrant antisocial involvement patterns would provide a fruitful avenue towards better understanding these behaviors over time. More importantly, the nuances in the offending and victimization trajectories that different immigrant generations take and the factors that impact those trajectories can be explored.

Assimilation, The Life-Course, and Trajectories of Behavior

The central motivations for criminological study into immigrant behavior patterns typically evoke questions regarding *how* they unfold and *why* they unfold the way they do. The *how* tends to be primarily demonstrated in prior macro- and micro-level research suggesting immigrants are less likely to be involved in offending and violent victimization events relative to native-born or later-generation immigrants. While this is

largely the case, it obscures the general temporal patterns that person-based analysis of human behavior promotes. As Nagin et al. (2005) noted, people do not have intercepts and they do not have slopes. Nor does an individual belong wholesale to a circumscribed behavioral group and follow everyone else in lock-step. People evolve, and how they navigate the life-course is subject to various changes. In this way, especially regarding offending and victimization, I retain the probabilistic focus that helps to conceptually and operationally analyze immigrant behaviors. Through this group-based approach, the *why* becomes much clearer in terms of what engages trajectories of offending and victimization to alter.

Assimilationist and life-course perspectives offer multiple pathways to understand changes in criminal offending and victimization across immigrant generations. Prior research has provided somewhat mixed evidence to suggest that assimilationist theories can at least somewhat explain immigrant generational differences. The general trend is that straight-line assimilation is supported. That is, the later the immigration generation, the more likely they are to be involved in criminal activity and be victims of violent crime. This immigrant intergenerational severity gradient, coined by Vaughn et al. (2014a), persists and generally helps color the immigrant paradox. However, as Portes and Zhou (1993) established, assimilation and acculturation are not so straight-lined. Different groups assimilate at different rates and have widely varying acculturation experiences compared to others. As such, one of the most critical differences is based on ethnic background. Depending on the ethnic designation (e.g., Hispanic, Latina/o/x, Asian, African) and country the individual assigns their roots to (e.g., Mexico, China, Puerto Rico), the manner in which someone is socialized into American society is uneven

and contingent upon the host of circumstances—such as cultural traditions, attitudes, and attachment to important social institutions—that those origin contexts provide. In this way, how an individual acculturates, or absorbs the host nation’s culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), becomes a distinct pathway towards antisocial outcomes. Here, the concepts of key life-course theoretical explanations come to the forefront, like Sampson and Laub’s (1993, see also Laub & Sampson, 2003) age-graded theory of informal social control.

By promoting important social bonds—like familial structures and attachments—and the accumulation of social capital, a person is bound to societal institutions and expectations. Moreover, turning points act as valuable “knifing off” events that allow for personal and structural change in a person’s life. Within the context of immigrant generations, not only are these expected bonds and turning points likely to vary across generations, but the variability should also extend to within generations. For early generation immigrants, it is the process of acculturation change that may play a distinct role in how patterns of offending unfold. Finally, the agency and identity formation that emerges among immigrant generations may differ given the restricting immigrant-specific factors—like legal status or language barrier—that later generations may not have to engage in. These, in turn, may also explain differences from generation to generation when offending and victimization trajectories are considered.

The Current Focus

While prior and substantial research efforts have been made to study both immigrant offending and victimization (e.g., Gibson & Miller, 2010; Wong, 2017), there remains a need to theoretically and methodologically consider both outcomes in a similar

context. Theoretically, the foundational elements of certain developmental and life-course paradigms and the guiding explanatory forces of assimilationist perspectives can offer a combined effort to explain why and how immigrant generational status differentially influences criminal offending and victimization. This theoretical expansion is important as immigrants embody a varied social reality that enables a high degree of heterogeneity. That is, while categorizations of immigrants are (currently) clear cut (e.g., born outside the U.S.), their experiences with crime should be framed within a broader life experience that must be considered, even preliminarily, when examining life outcomes. Even though prior scholarship has combined these perspectives, its nuances are still being developed as scholarship continues to explore the immigrant reality.

Methodologically, longitudinal strategies—particularly trajectory analyses—provide an appropriate and reasonable way to examine both relevant outcomes independently and together. The attempts at modeling immigrant crime and victimization are insightful and illuminating in their own right; however, modeling offending and victimization trajectories together would allow an introductory look into just how much immigrant generation matters for these outcomes and what factors influence changes or differences across immigrant generational groups. As such, three overarching research questions will be addressed in this study:

Research Question 1: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of criminal offending? If so, to what degree?

Research Question 2: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of violent victimization? If so, to what degree?

Research Question 3: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of joint criminal offending and violent victimization? If so, to what degree?

The Plan of the Dissertation

With these research questions in mind, this dissertation will proceed accordingly. Chapter 2 provides a discussion surrounding the theoretical basis for this study and an overview of the current state of various literature bases. First, assimilationist and developmental and life-course perspectives (DLCC) are expounded as baselines for understanding immigrant criminal offending and violent victimization. Following this, studies instrumental in expanding research about immigrant involvement in crime, victimization, and its overlap will be reviewed in detail. Chapter 3 describes the study methods, including the dataset, sample information, and conceptualization and operationalization of variables. Following this, the analytic plan describes the multiple descriptive and longitudinal approaches used to describe patterns of offending and victimization. More specifically, a detailed explanation of the usage of group-based trajectory modeling is presented. Chapter 4 will present the results from the various analyses. Chapter 5 will provide discussion and conclusions regarding the dissertation findings and the implications for immigrant generational and criminological research moving forward.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Introduction

Broader theoretical perspectives have contributed much to the understanding of the immigrant-crime and immigrant-victimization discourse. Just as McDonald (2018) summarized, there is a long and storied history of using traditional criminological theories to explain how immigrant influence impacts macro and micro-level outcomes in environments and persons. These include but are not limited to general and traditional theories of crime and victimization—like social disorganization, strain, control theories, and lifestyle routine activities theory (see Thomas, 2011; Chen & Zhong, 2013; Kubrin & Mioduszewski, 2018). These theories have contributed much to our understanding of immigrant realities; however, only recently has the life-course context emerged as a critical and cohesive area of focus for these realities. As a natural characteristic, traditional theories in criminology that explain offending or victimization generally attempt to do so statically or dynamically for all individuals. When considering immigrant segments, many of the proposed theoretical mechanisms of these theories would be expected to emerge, but an inquiry into these groups requires special consideration into the broader experiences and life circumstances that immigrants face. From a static or fixed standpoint, it is necessary to understand the immediate, common, and unique contexts that contribute to offending and victimization outcomes for both immigrants and native individuals. From a dynamic standpoint, it is important to understand the temporal and directional relationships inherent to offending, victimization, and the complex mechanizations of immigrant life. Many of these theoretical leanings are

optimally positioned to explain immigrant-crime and immigrant-victimization relationships at greater levels of measurement (e.g., neighborhood, city), and have been summarized or explicated in prior work; with findings showing a null or negative relationship between immigration and crime, as well as victimization (see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Martínez & Valenzuela, 2006; McDonald, 2018; Miller & Peguero, 2018).

For marginalized or understudied populations, the ability to address both offending and victimization requires a broader and more individual positionality to understand patterns of behavior (Bersani & Doherty, 2018; Fader & Traylor, 2015). While these traditional theoretical positions have merit and help justify emergent findings, the evident gap exists in explaining how and why differential offending and victimization occurs at the individual-level across immigrant generational groups. To understand specific mechanisms or predictors of behavior, the examination of individual-level processes benefits from an approach that considers what happens over long periods of time. Traditional criminological theory tends to translate well to these temporal approaches, albeit with some limitations. The extant body of research has indeed considered longitudinal focuses—noted more broadly in the sharp contrasts found between cross-sectional and longitudinal research, with studies finding longitudinal research propelling much of the immigrant paradox on crime (see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). Whether macro- or micro-level in application, these theories are not necessarily positioned to emphasize individual processes that inform how behavioral trajectories unfold and change, over critical developmental contexts. To do so, a combination of perspectives and theories is required to consider the broader immigrant reality and behavioral patterns across the life-course. As such, assimilationist theories and

developmental and life-course perspectives offer substantial guidance in this way to explain offending and victimization patterns across developmental periods (e.g., adolescence to early adulthood) (Elder, 1998; Farrington et al., 2018; Piquero et al., 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1997; Wikström & Treiber, 2018).

Expanding Theoretical Explanations of Individual-level Immigrant Offending and Victimization Across Immigrant Generations

The Role of Assimilation and Acculturation in Immigrant Criminality and Victimization

One of the most prominent and adopted individual-level positions explaining immigrant offending and victimization is assimilation or assimilationist theory (Chouhy, 2018; Kubrin, 2018). Following the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965—otherwise known as the Hart-Celler Act—the tide of immigration had begun to change. This act amended provisions from the McCarran Walter Act of 1952 and lifted previous restrictions that only allowed legal migration from immigrants of European origin. This also came at a time where the legal landscape had begun shifting towards helping marginalized segments of American society, as seen in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Expanding the strict quota system, the Immigration and Nationality Act increased the number of visas that could be acquired and expanded the ways in which immigrants could obtain them (e.g., spouses and children, see LeMay, 2015, 2019). A viable legal pathway to permanent residency paved the way for migration chains to develop out of Latin America and Asia. While this was a turning point for Asian migration, as it relates to Latina/o/x immigrants, this timing was important. The Act coincided with the end of the Bracero program, a temporary worker program aimed at

increasing agricultural production to alleviate the worker shortage during U.S. involvement in World War II (LeMay, 2015). Since the Bracero program recruits mostly came from Mexico, a large portion of immigrants that made up the migration flow were Latino. After the program ended, the remaining workers compounded by the limited number of visas available to citizens from any given country helped contribute to the rise of 'illegal immigration' (Kretsedemas, 2014; LeMay, 2004). Under this backdrop, scholarship conceptualized assimilationism and its components.

As Portes and Rumbaut (2014, p. 71) summarized, these perspectives generally characterize assimilation as a clash between conflicting cultural values and norms. More specifically, "assimilation occurs by the diffusion of values and norms from core to periphery." Further discussion is needed to explicate the evolution of this term.

Assimilation perspectives can be conceptually divided into two different segments: classical assimilation models and segmented assimilation. Through the efforts of early Chicago School scholars, classical assimilation as a concept grew to become a key avenue for explaining immigrant-related behavior in communities. Parks and Burgess (1921, p. 735) described it as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." Parks and Burgess (1921, pp. 735-736) go on to state that "assimilation denotes this sharing of tradition, this intimate participation in common experiences, assimilation is central in the historical and cultural processes." While this is certainly in tune with economic and social growth associated with the first half of the 20th century, assumptions are made about how assimilation emerges. The most prominent is that

assimilation occurs linearly across immigrant generations. There is a relatively clear diffusion of ethnic culture in which individuals are integrated in a convergent fashion into American society (Chouhy, 2018). As Feldmeyer (2018, p. 37) puts it, there is a “relatively clear beginning and endpoint” with how immigrants integrate. As generations unfold, immigrants, their children, and subsequent offspring lose important aspects of their home country’s culture, customs, language, and value systems. While the original postulation suggested immigrants and successive generations “lose” these aspects, it does not suggest a complete expungement of the home country’s influence. This is discussed by Alba and Nee (2003, p. 19), where they highlighted that many critics falsely assumed assimilation meant “erasure of all signs of ethnic origins.” After all, these minority groups could also influence the host country’s culture, so assimilation is not necessarily a one-way social transaction. This is the central thrust for describing America as a “melting pot” where European—and more recently Latino/a and Asian—immigrant and migrant influences amalgamate with those of the white protestant, Anglo-Saxons, or the core-culture (see Alba & Nee, 2003, 1997; Gordon, 1964).

Most useful to this inquiry is how assimilation, or specifically the acculturation process, operates as an emergent process for immigrants and acts as a primary vehicle for promoting offending and victimization across developmental periods. To do so, it is first useful to highlight contemporary efforts made to improve the conceptualization of assimilation. One of the most valuable responses to the linear assimilation critique of the classical assimilation model is that assimilation is uneven, non-linear, and importantly, segmented (Feldmeyer, 2018; Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993;). This is important to how assimilation emerges across generations. As a whole, I argue a familiar

theoretical position that assimilation is segmented. This means not every immigrant and child of immigrants will assimilate or integrate in the same fashion as others (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Stepick & Stepick, 2010). Just as Portes and Rumbaut (2001) contend, the process of assimilation is much too variable to be proposed as a uniform and direct process. Cultural, structural, and social dimensions like ethnic origin, type of enclave (e.g., religion, origin country), neighborhood, class, and language all offer some degree of influence on how assimilation plays out.

In Portes and Zhou's (1993) seminal introduction to segmented assimilation, they proposed that individuals across immigrant generations experience assimilation patterns via different *acculturation* forms. Acculturation is distinct, multidimensional, and acts as a precursor to assimilation. It is the process under which "by osmosis, as it were, cultural forms are gradually absorbed by immigrants, bringing them closer to the majority" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014, p. 71). To be sure, there are many overlapping and contrasting definitions regarding assimilation and acculturation. Gordon (1964) does well to summarize various conceptualizations of both terms and their definitional nuances.¹ Under segmented assimilation, three distinct acculturation types exist (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014). First, consonant acculturation is "the learning process and gradual abandonment of the home language and culture occur at roughly the same pace across generations." This happens when parents have enough human capital to supervise their children's cultural transition into the core mainstream. This path primarily encourages upward social mobility and rapid assimilation into the mainstream (Chouhy, 2018).

¹ There is undoubtedly a rich history of discussion regarding what assimilation and acculturation mean. The two are often used interchangeably, however, here they are used distinctly to suggest assimilation is segmented and the varied acculturation forms is what informs broader segmented assimilation. Jimenez (2017) offers a concise history of the evolution of these terms and the assimilationist perspectives.

Second, selective acculturation preserves the parent's cultural features in the child's generation. This type is usually enabled by a strong co-ethnic community and diversity in the community, so children can promote both sociocultural characteristics of the origin and host country with little conflict between parent-child dyads (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 54). Finally, there is dissonant acculturation which requires special attention.

Among the three types of acculturation, *dissonant acculturation* might be the most contributory to offending and victimization. This refers to when a child learns English and American culture while simultaneously losing their immigrant culture (p. 54; see also Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014). The consequences of doing so are paramount to understanding how certain populations engage with social circumstances and contextual conditions. Dissonant acculturation leads to—although not necessarily—a type of downward assimilation that produces a role reversal between child and immigrant parents. When this occurs, a child's acculturation becomes ahead of that of their parents and puts the child in a unique social position. They are prematurely freed from parental control as they have a better understanding of American society across various dimensions compared to their parents (e.g., language, customs, mores). Under these circumstances, children in earlier immigrant generations are exposed to similar factors that contribute to offending and victimization (e.g., exposure to deviant peers) relative to later generations (Bui, 2009; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012). In any particular context, dissonant acculturation surfaces as a prominent process that enables a type of downward assimilation that exposes children to criminal and victimization elements.

Assimilation applies to all immigrant generations, although to varying degrees. The baseline argument is that while assimilation does not apply in the same qualitative

fashion for all, assimilation is more likely to occur as one tracks along the immigrant generational gradient (e.g., first-generation compared to second-generation). For second-generation or children of immigrants, their acculturation processes—that is, the “osmosis” between parental/familial cultures and values relative to the U.S. context—naturally begin during very early developmental stages as of result of their birth location (i.e., host country or in this case the U.S.). For the third-generation and native-born individuals, it is a similar set of circumstances; however, as their distance or proximity to immigration or migration weakens, acculturation might emerge as a less salient force as these individuals might be expected to more readily integrate, assimilate, and engage with American culture, mores, and norms. This is not to suggest later generations lose their host country’s cultures or values. Surely, there are social forces and groupings, like ethnic enclaves or neighborhood social structures, that could impact the character of acculturation in specific contexts.

First-generation immigrants require additional discussion in this regard. While, by definition, this group is born outside the U.S., their exposure to the American context is somewhat varied. The usual vehicle for understanding this exposure is immigrants’ time spent in the U.S. and its various proxy measures (e.g., age of arrival in the U.S.). The more time spent in a host country, the greater the acculturative force towards that country’s culture and value system—and thus more likely assimilation is to occur.

The primary lynchpin for acculturation in this theoretical discussion is this: the later the immigrant generation, the greater the acculturation towards American culture/nativity. The greater this acculturation, the more likely assimilation will occur and result in criminal offending and victimization. It should be noted that counter arguments

suggesting early generation immigrants have higher degrees of criminality or exposures to violence are typically positioned within very specific contexts or circumstances. For example, inquiries involving those with less secure sociolegal statuses (e.g., temporary visas, undocumented status) and outcomes involving gendered crimes, like sexual violence, are likely to be in support of the aforementioned counterargument. The broader trends, however, follow more so of this straight, and at times segmented, direction that greater integration leads to greater involvement in offending and being victims of criminal acts.

The broader notion here is that the U.S. is a ‘high-violence society,’ and the diffusion-like process stemming from immigrant integration works to maintain violence in communities and individuals (Sampson, 2008). While traditional elements (e.g., ties to family, cultural cohesion) can work to mitigate or soften the deleterious effects of nativity, the later generations are more likely to succumb to a broad range of criminalistic exposure—like deviant peers and risky lifestyles—those native-born populations typically encounter (Bersani, 2014a). In this way, acculturation and assimilation, which are hypothesized to differ greatly across successive generations, are expected to play active and dynamic roles in criminal offending and victimization insofar that later generations experience higher rates of both (Morenoff & Astor, 2006).²

² This is not to suggest I preserve the exact sentiment of the classic assimilation perspectives. Rather, I promote the lessons of segmented assimilation that recognizes that contextual and—important to this study—individual-level factors are germane to understanding qualitative and quantitative differences across immigrant generation on any given antisocial (or prosocial) outcome. For example, the factor of race, and by extension ethnic background, emerges as a salient factor regardless of level of measurement. At a broader level, racial and ethnic prejudices exist to impact community structures and social institutions to make assimilation more difficult for certain groups of individuals and immigrant generations. Similarly, micro-level racial dynamics promote direct and indirect social behaviors that promote downward assimilation. All this to suggest that race plays an important role to promoting criminal and victimization pathways primarily through the avenue of dissonant acculturation.

The Role of Age-Graded Theory of Informal Social Control on Offending and Victimization

A prominent theory in developmental and life-course criminology (DLCC) research is Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. First introduced in *Crime in The Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life*, the theory challenged prior life-course research that up until that time had focused predominately on childhood and formal social control mechanisms like arrest (p. 17). They countered the notion that individuals maintained stable behaviors across time and posited that within-individual change was possible. This stemmed from research that conveyed that the best predictor of future behavior was past behavior, but generally conceded that other factors/contexts were needed to understand the high false-positive rate of prediction (i.e., some early criminality cases predict future behaviors, many do not) (see White et al., 1990). Even stable concepts, like low self-control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), could not be separated from the dynamic structures of the life-course. The concept of stability, otherwise known as relative stability, suggests that individuals relative to one another are likely to remain stable in their behavior over time. As Sampson and Laub (1993, p. 16) noted, stability, that is how human behaviors remain stable between-individuals, does not "preclude within-individual change." In other words, changes (or stability) in human behavior should be considered over time and at various stages of the life-course, not just from the perspective that behavior at point A will predict behavior at point B.

The authors argued that across the life-course social bonds to key formal and informal institutions limit the possibility of crime and promote conformity. As one

transitions out of adolescence or juvenility, dominant social control institutions (family, peers, schools) change. Certain adulthood institutions, like work and marriage, play increasingly important roles. During key early developmental stages and transition points, people accumulate social capital. Coleman (1994) proposed social capital resides in interpersonal relations and institutional linkages” (see Laub & Sampson, 1993, pp. 310). More specifically, social capital emerges and accumulates through its relations among persons, and although different forms of it exist (e.g., obligations, expectations, trustworthiness), its importance here is that social capital “is valuable in facilitating certain actions [that] may be useless or even harmful for others” (Coleman, 1994, p. 302; see also Coleman, 1988). In this way, the manner in which social capital accumulates is not the same per person nor in circumscribed groups of individuals (Hagan, 1998); however, social capital remains the pivotal concept that enables social bonds to tie or bind people to societal institutions and their expectations (Laub & Sampson, 1993).

As a source of adaptability during developmental transitions, some individuals encounter “turning points” or “knifing off” events during the life-course that redirect trajectories of behavior (Giordano, 2003). These turning points also provide supervision, monitoring, opportunities for social support and growth, change in routine activities, and provide an opportunity for identity transformation (Laub & Sampson, 2003, pp. 148-149). For instance, marriage-related correlates have received considerable attention in the DLCC literature (Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Piquero et al., 2014a; Craig et al., 2020). Studies demonstrate that marriage or marital status has a protective effect and promotes desistance from offending (Craig & Foster, 2013; Craig et al., 2014; Giordano et al., 2002; Skardhamar et al., 2015; Warr, 1998). Laub and Sampson (1993) maintained that

the production of social capital goes beyond a simple role change (e.g., married or not married, employed or unemployed). Rather, the qualitative processes involved in the role change are important to offending and likely victimization.

Sampson and Laub's theory was not originally formulated to consider the general role of victimization, or at least it was not positioned with the same degree of focus as offending or desistance from offending. When explaining how victimization operates within their theoretical framework, it is important to discuss the role of victimization across time and people. The risk of victimization is not static across the life-course and varies with age (Macmillan, 2001). As such, victimization—predominantly exposure to violence—tends to be concentrated in early periods of the life-course (Finkelhor, 1995; Rojas-Gaona et al., 2015). Similar to offending and the concept of criminal careers (Blumstein et al., 1986a, 1986b; Piquero, 2000; Piquero et al., 2003, 2004; Wolfgang et al., 1972), a victim career perspective has also been established positioning victimization in the broader life-course. The premise is that victimization is subject to continuity and change across developmental stages, and as one transitions through these stages, the risk of victimization heightens with prior victimization (and offending) (Tillyer, 2014). Since victimization works to promote future victimization (i.e., revictimization), it can often work in a cumulative fashion (Wojciechowski, 2021). Central to the application of Sampson and Laub's theory to victimization is Daigle and colleagues' (2008) extension, which helped explain desistance from victimization across the life-course. The core thrust of the age-graded theory of informal social control remains intact: increased social bonds decrease the likelihood of criminal offending—or criminal victimization (e.g., exposure to violence)—and key turning points or juncture processes can also promote

victimization, albeit with some important caveats. The authors noted that events like marriage might have varied effects on the risk of victimization like they do for offending. In this example, marriage serves to provide insulation from criminal others and guardianship benefits. In turn, individuals are supervised by a distinct and central party in that person's life and have reduced exposure to criminal elements. In this way, marriage surfaces as a crucial social bond, reducing victimization risk by tying a potential target to a heightened guardian supervising what is happening to that person day in and day out. Daigle et al. also highlighted employment. They noted employment predicted revictimization but not offending. Employment in this context could impact the social circumstances that promote victimization, such as being violently victimized in the surrounding work context (e.g., at work, going home from work). Overall, these events and the changing of social bonds may be conditioned by the context and outcome analyzed.

Research into offending and victimization overlap is rooted in positions that demonstrate a rich duality that demands the two be viewed in an overlapping context, particularly when considering longitudinal or life-course frameworks (Berg & Mulford, 2020; Lauritsen et al., 1991; Wolfgang, 1958). As such, scholars have begun to consider how developmental processes impact offending and victimization, independently and concurrently (DeCamp et al., 2018; Golladay, 2018; Mulford et al., 2018; Richards & Gillespie, 2019; Pusch & Reisig, 2021). In the broadest sense, being victimized often leads to offending and vice versa across the life-course (Clay-Warner et al., 2016; Macmillan, 2001; Ousey et al. 2011; Reisig & Holtfreter, 2018; Schreck et al., 2017; Sullivan et al., 2016; Tillyer, 2014). Many individuals also exhibit varied offending and

victimization trajectories (Jennings et al., 2012; Jennings et al., 2013; Jolliffe et al., 2017; Knight et al., 2009, 2013; Piquero, 2008). More recently, however, scholars have begun to understand their connection and why they would be expected to overlap across trajectories or developmental analytic points (Erdmann & Reinecke, 2019; Mulford et al., 2018; Reisig & Holtfreter, 2018; Schreck et al., 2017). For example, similar to offending, low victimization trajectories tend to make up the highest proportion of individuals from an examined subsample (Sullivan et al., 2016; DeCamp et al., 2018). More often than not, these studies evoke positions complementary to developmental and life-course approaches. A key example of this is Pusch and Reisig's (2021) study examining the overlap in teen dating violence offending and victimization, which used social control theory as the basis for their theoretical position. While this dissertation does not directly apply the age-graded theory of informal social control, the overlap in ideas is clear via the emphasis placed on social bonds in either theoretical postulation. That is, at a minimum, they demonstrate that longitudinal or DLCC approaches are well suited to contribute to the dearth of research that specifically highlights offending and victimization in overlapping contexts.

The Immigrant Generational Frame. Theoretically, it is well understood that it is important to examine the characteristic nature of offending and victimization both independently and together in the life-course context. However, increasingly the focus has become examining variations in specific populations of interest (Bersani & Doherty, 2018; Fader & Traylor, 2015). Particularly as one transitions into adulthood, the social bonds one adheres to may be expected to weaken over time, so for some, positive or negative life events might have varied effects on victimization even though victimization

retains a positive association with offending (Schreck et al., 2017). In this way, further consideration is needed to explore the role of social bond changes and the relationship between offending and victimization over time. A productive manner of doing so is to focus not “only on whether victimization increases offending, but for whom” (Turanovic, 2019b, p. 102; see also Turanovic, 2019a). An increasingly important frame is to examine these outcomes for those who are situated along the immigrant generational gradient.

First, it is important to establish who an immigrant is and the proper lens from which to view them. Immigrants are not a homogenous grouping, and while it remains difficult to neatly classify immigrants, there are categorizations useful for analysis based on observable characteristics, specifically immigrant generations. The immigrant generational scheme is one often used in the extant immigrant-crime literature and is based on a combination of one to seven binary factors depending on data availability: (1) respondent is foreign-born (2) respondent’s mother is foreign-born (3) respondent’s father is foreign-born (4) respondent’s maternal grandmother is foreign-born, (5) respondent’s maternal grandfather is foreign-born, (6) respondent’s paternal grandmother is foreign-born, and (7) respondent’s paternal grandfather is foreign-born. These are in reference to being a U.S. native-born. Table 1 provides the list of immigrant generations based on the aforementioned variables. This table is reminiscent of Wong’s (2017) table detailing immigrant generation definitions. My table places greater emphasis on specific observable variables used to discern which immigrant generation an individual belongs to.

Table 1*Immigrant Generations Classification*

Generation	Respondent Birthplace	Mother Birthplace	Father Birthplace	Grandparent Birthplace
1	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.
1.5	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.
2	U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.
2.5	U.S.	U.S. or Non-U.S	U.S. or Non-U.S	Non-U.S.
3	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	Non-U.S.
3.5-plus	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.

The first-generation designation refers to individuals who were foreign-born and have parents and grandparents who were also foreign-born. These individuals migrated to the U.S. past their early formative years. The 1.5 generation is similar to the first but came to the U.S. at an early age. The second-generation is those who were born in the U.S. to both foreign-born parents. The 2.5 generation has one foreign-born and one U.S.-born parent. Third-generation persons and their parents are born in the U.S.; however, they have at least one foreign-born grandparent (Gibson & Miller, 2010; Knight et al., 2012). Finally, for the 3.5-plus generation, all relevant individuals were born in the U.S. (for a broader overview, see Rumbaut, 2004). Using this scheme above places the study of immigrants in a more nuanced light. Immigrant offending or victimization and their etiology are not exclusive to the foreign-born. Rather, it would be best to frame the

immigrant designation on a gradient to better understand the nuanced sociological and criminological processes that emerge across immigrant generational groups.

An important addition here is the inclusion of the in-between statuses (i.e., 2.5- and 3.5-generation). These groups tend to be overlooked in the research for a couple of reasons relevant to the current discussion. The first is that theoretically, the dominant focus on the whole generations provide a cohesive framing of groups that embody distinct social experiences. But just as Rumbaut (2004) explicated, in-between generations like the 2.5ers vary on various social indicators—such as education (i.e., college graduate rates)—relative to whole generations (e.g., second-generation). This trend is not always linear, for example, as Rumbaut found that for immigrant groups in his study with high socioeconomic status, the occupational gains seen in the second generation was not observed in the 2.5-generation. This meant that even across these half generations, immigrant groups should not be expected to “turn it around” or evenly overcome disadvantage (or obtain advantage). Still, considering the dearth of research that applies in-between immigrant generational statuses, there remains a need to further explore differences across these generations in criminal contexts.

Second, the manner in which the in-between statuses are captured predominately rely on observed indicators based on birth country (i.e., U.S.-born or not). As shown, the 2.5- and 3.5-generation can be captured with added information from an individual’s grandparents, but this is not the case for the 1.5-generation. This depends on age of migration. As Gonzales and Chavez (2012) suggest, there is no consensus for what the cutoff age should be for the 1.5 generation. In their study, they use 15 years and younger; however, other notable studies have used age 12 or the vague description that 1.5

generation immigrants came to the U.S. “as children” (see Rumbaut, 2004). Overall, to better address the character of assimilationist qualities on criminal offending or victimization (straight-line assimilation vs. segmented assimilation)—as well as the emergent intergenerational severity gradient that is explicated in the following chapter—the addition of these in-between statuses contributes considerable nuance to the exploration of this dissertation’s outcomes of interest.

Immigrants and The Value of Social Bonds, Social Capital, and Agency. In the immigrant frame, the manner in which social bonds form and turning points occur operate differently and depend on different sociocultural contexts (Bondy et al., 2019; Diaz-Strong, 2021). Similar to the native-born and later generations, social bonds often serve to protect against the negative social milieu for early generation immigrants. Family and parental structures protect against antisocial influences, ties to education can promote educational attainment promoting prosocial futures, and the supervisory qualities of marriage can be beneficial. Sometimes it is these very same social bonds that can also increase the risk of victimization and offending (e.g., positive and negative family influences) (Rojas-Gaona et al., 2015; Fenimore et al., 2019). However, the inherent nature of social bonds and the degree to which they influence the behavior of immigrants and their children depend on the home and host country’s values/culture structures (Haller & Landolt, 2005). In the immigrant generational scheme, the processes involved in how social capital forms and informs social ties are intricately tied to the social characteristics of an immigrant’s homeland.

Continuing with the example of marriage, being married and other family-related processes are intimately connected and reflect a more collectivist process—a more

common orientation in new-age immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and parts of Africa (Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Waters & Pineau, 2015). Later immigrant generations transition individuals away from collectivist ideals to more individual ones—an orientation characteristic of American culture. That is, the more integrated and individualistic a person is (e.g., second-generation and later), the more influence marriage has as an institution to maintain social control over an individual's deviant or antisocial behavior. As Bersani and DiPietro (2016, p. 308) argued, the act of getting married acts as a “more conventionalizing institution among more assimilated immigrants.” Thus, marriage is hypothesized to act as a protective factor in later generations, particularly the second-generation. For younger immigrants, like those in adolescence, relationships or marriage alternatives may play a more prominent focus. For this group, relational qualities could be contained or influenced as immigrant parents and familial forces (e.g., expectations, cultural pressures) work to provide a more protective effect on early generation immigrants (Craig et al., 2020; King & Harris, 2007).

The immigrant experience impacts early generation immigrants' lived reality and may impact developmental pathways and color human agency. Just as Sampson and Laub (2005, p. 20) highlighted, agency is a dynamic process that “underscores how people construct their lives within the context of ongoing constraints.” Being an immigrant requires one to strongly consider legal and social circumstances and make decisions within relevant constraints. The concept of human agency—in addition to the accumulation of social capital via social bonds—offers a reasonable frame to examine how immigrant behaviors evolve and change. Factors such as clear motivation (e.g., “fast money”), sensation seeking, alcohol abuse, and importantly, criminal legal involvement

(e.g., prison stints, personal or vicarious interactions) can propel offending over the life-course (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Daigle et al., 2008). Within the context of victimization, victimization may co-occur and covary with offending to such a degree that individuals are affected by criminal activity and victimization events enough to spark changes to risky behaviors (Ousey et al., 2011). Potentially relevant snares—like offending, criminal justice involvement, or even victimization events—may further alter the varied social and legal pathways immigrants navigate in ways native-born individuals do not need to endure. A key social process integral to these concepts are assimilation and acculturation.

Assimilation and Acculturation in the Development and Life-Course of Immigrants. The combination of assimilatory and DLCC perspectives is a natural emergence of varying theoretical foundations with overlapping functions. Sampson and Laub’s age-graded theory of informal social control could explain *why* changes to offending and victimization (e.g., onset, persistence) occur through social capital accumulation, the quality of social bonds to institutions, and the emergence of key turning points; however, the process of acculturation is how these changes are facilitated in more immigrant-centric populations. To that end, scholars have only begun to consider how acculturative processes are embedded and change across the life-course to contribute to adverse criminal-social outcomes. This is not to suggest the acculturative-DLCC combinative framework has not been examined. Indeed, scholars generally tend to integrate elements of segmented assimilation—such as family structure and immigrant status—into DLCC perspectives (e.g., Piquero et al., 2014a, 2014b).

The acculturation process, dissonant acculturation included, does not operate in a vacuum (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) and should be expected to evolve or change.

Segmented assimilation largely contends that the local social context in which individuals reside matters for how an early generation immigrant assimilates (for an overview, see Xie & Greenman, 2011). While this evokes a critical interaction between more macro-level environments and individual-level processes, seldom put forth is how assimilation evolves as a result of what transpires during the life-course. Xie and Greenman (2011, p. 980) concluded that a central sticking point with the original segmented assimilation postulation was that the processes of assimilation (e.g., acculturation) were confounded with the consequences of assimilation. That is, it was difficult to disentangle where assimilation started and ended in its utility as a predictor and outcome. Just as those authors offered, I also contend that assimilation behaviors and outcomes are engaged in a simultaneous process influencing one another in distinct ways. Contextualizing these processes within the broader life-course context is crucial for seeing the manner in which assimilation and acculturative forces emerge at the individual-level and their exogenous efforts on antisocial/criminal-related outcomes. Additionally, while dissonant acculturation has been traditionally proposed as a product of structural inequalities and factors (see Kubrin & Mioduszewski, 2018), it might also be driven largely by what happens and unfolds during the life-course. There are at least three reasons why the life-course is an optimal lens for research to investigate the role of acculturation—or why differences should be expected to arise across and within immigrant generations—on immigrant offending and victimization.

Acculturation Change and the Life-Course. First, acculturation is demonstrated to change during the life-course, especially across adolescence, juvenility, and early adulthood regardless of immigrant generation. For first-generation immigrants,

acculturation is subject to vary depending on their time spent in the U.S., which is viewed as a reasonable proxy for acculturation unfolding. Certainly, there are scales that attempt to measure acculturation. One of the most accessible in the criminological literature is the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) used in the Pathways to Desistance study (Mulvey et al., 2004; Schubert et al., 2004). However, this measure is limited in few important ways. First, it was only administered to respondents who identified as Mexican American. Second, as Sabina and colleagues (2015) identified, aspects like setting and measuring different Latino ethnicities (e.g., Cuban) are underserved using the scale. Regardless of included scale, many criminological studies do not include an acculturation scale at baseline. As such, the probability and degree of acculturation that emerges is thought to increase the more time an individual spends in the U.S. In lieu of such a measure, acculturation is expected to increase across successive immigrant generations.

The more time someone spends in the U.S. (i.e., residency length), the more their orientation towards their host country and Anglo-culture begins to change relative to their baseline (Cheung et al., 2011; Cobb et al., 2021; Martínez et al., 2011). This is prominent depending on the age of migration. For youth who migrate during the very early years of life, they may be quicker to adapt or acculturate to the host country relative to those who come later in life (Cheung et al., 2011; Martínez et al., 2011). Acculturation among children of immigrants should be expected to increase in magnitude over time as they negotiate between their family's heritage and the host country's core culture. For this group, acculturation trajectories are more variable (relative to first-generation immigrants), heterogenous, and change over time (Knight et al., 2009; Titzmann et al.,

2008). Third-generation or native-born individuals have weaker acculturation engagement; however, this varies by ethnic enclave and community.

Social and Human Capital Differences Across Immigrant Generations.

Second, the social and human capital that individuals are expected to accumulate is subjected to variation across immigrant generations. A key component of this stance is that acculturation is conditioned upon a variety of factors also attributed to the heterogeneity in immigrant groups. Factors such as familial composition and type, neighborhood environment, the quality of interpersonal relationships, race/ethnicity, and age offer avenues contributing to how individuals absorb and engage in the acculturation process (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). In other words, acculturation is not the same for everyone, and the nature in which individuals accumulate and leverage their human capital also covaries. Social bonds to important institutions in a host country are also expected to change across the life-course. On the matter of turning points (e.g., marriage, employment), how immigrants react to conventional turning points may play a weaker role relative to dimensions of acculturation like culture, identity, and traditional value adherence (Bersani et al., 2014; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; Gibson & Miller, 2010).

Identity Formation and Agency Among Early Generational Immigrants.

Third, just as acculturation is instrumental to the development of social and human capital via social bonds, immigrant agency is crucial to how offending and victimization impact behavior changes. This particular point represents a distinct departure from other studies that have attempted to use a similar assimilationist and DLCC framework. In addition to acculturation change and social and human capital, I posit that early

immigrant generations undergo a dynamic identity formation and reformation that typically guides individuals away from risky circumstances or situations.

For immigrants and their offspring, the social circumstances are connected to their cognitive frame. Paternoster and Bushway (2009) provide an important contribution to the notion of agency and extend its use from Sampson and Laub (1993). Paternoster and Bushway (2009) place great emphasis on identity, the working self, and the intentional self-change one can engage in. Sampson and Laub (1993) point towards desistance as a more so structured change than an individual one. Put differently, knifing off points, and their subsequent effects (e.g., changes to supervision and routine activities) reduce the opportunity for crime. However, while turning points are important and relevant to the structural changes it enacts, it does not allow for change in individual propensity (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, p. 1150). That change in individual propensity relies on identity. Certainly, this relates to Giordano and colleagues' (2002) theory of cognitive transformation. Paternoster & Bushway (2009) speak to this extensively, and while there are many ways the two approaches overlap, like Giordano et al.'s (2002) theory doing the "up front work" for explaining changes towards more conventional behavior (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009, pp. 1152-1154), the authors argue their extension is more applicable to a wide variety of populations and experiences. Paternoster and Bushway suggest cognitive transformations can occur even in socially disadvantaged or deprived circumstances. In other words, social identity change is still crucial towards making changes to behavior regardless of social conditions.

For immigrants and their children, identity plays a major role in how they perceive their actions and behaviors. This topic was reviewed by Haller and Landolt

(2005), who explained the convergence between segmented assimilation and transnational migration.³ Relevant to the current inquiry, certain life domains—alongside their meso-level corollaries like community—help contribute to the immigrant identity, including family and race. Haller and Ladolt (2005) also suggest that religion offers an important avenue towards immigrant identity formation. This is not expanded here as to maintain the focus on more criminologically salient factors contributing to identity and eventually, trajectories of offending or victimization. This is not to suggest religion does not pertain to DLCC outcomes as there is literature studying that specific line (e.g., Stansfield, 2017; Jang, 2019). Rather, that it requires further research in the immigrant-crime literature to expand on its influence across criminologically-related trajectories.

The connection to family plays a central role as a salient protective factor in the life of immigrants and immigrant adjacent groups (Fenimore et al., 2019). Family also offers a direct and indirect connection to the community, which promotes certain values and identity-related qualities like speaking the home country's language or engaging in transnational practices (Haller & Landolt, 2005; Levitt & Waters, 2002). One could also refer to the concept of familism or familismo, a culture-specific value that prioritizes the family that has long been tied to improved social outcomes for Hispanics or Latinos/as (Sabogal et al., 1987; Updegraff et al., 2012). Craig and colleagues (2020) recently speculated that familism could inform desistance from offending among first-generation immigrants, however, the exact conceptual pathway to offending has yet to be firmly established in criminological literature (Morcillo et al., 2011).

³ I recognize the broader frame of transnational migration and plethora of scholarship on the topic. For those interested in an introduction to this diverse research area, see Levitt and Waters (2002).

Race plays a particularly central role in immigrant identity formation as scholars contemporaneously argue that race (and ethnicity) is a dynamic construct not solely stemming from phenotypical qualities like skin color or Afrocentric facial/body features but additional indicators like country of origin, class, sex, social status, diet, and genes (Sen & Wasow, 2016). These factors serve to shape social structures and impact how people view themselves to make changes to their identities.

Critical to this discussion is the content of the immigrant identity. Immigrants are acutely aware of their individual and social circumstances in broader American society. There is a self-assigned schema informed by myths and stereotypes associated with being an immigrant in the U.S. (Altschul et al., 2008; Oyserman, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2003). False immigrant-crime myths have been a mainstay in the public discourse for the better part of the last century (Chouhy & Madero-Hernandez, 2019). The criminalization of immigrant individuals is promoted by the media, laws, and the general misunderstanding surrounding the immigration process (Menjívar et al., 2018; Stumpf, 2006). As such, criminal-alien myths are well understood, absorbed, and can direct how immigrants feel about their proximity to being a criminal—even without participation in criminal activity (Chouhy & Madero-Hernandez, 2019). Additionally, immigrants understand the inherent vulnerability tied to the immigrant designation and, depending on their background, acknowledge their heightened risk of being targeted for violent offenses (Becerra et al., 2017). Their children also understand these risks; however, the content of their racial-ethnic identity tends to be more heterogeneous as they contend with aspects of acculturation (Altschul et al., 2008). As such, the risk of becoming an offender or victim—and its subsequent effects—may never be far from the immigrant mind.

The content of the immigrant identity is also heavily informed by immigration enforcement. First-generation immigrants and their children generally understand their restricted legal context (García, 2019). They differ substantially on social and regional characteristics and by background and legal status (e.g., undocumented, previously documented with expired visas, temporary statuses like Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals or DACA recipients, permanent residents). As a result, they operate within the constraints of ‘liminal legality,’ a precarious social space that positions immigrants somewhere between legal and illegal status, leaving the immigrant’s social position patently insecure in criminal justice and general social contexts (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015; Zatz & Smith, 2012). Even for children of immigrants who do not portend to the consequences of the deportability continuum, they are directly and indirectly affected by the consequences of criminal events (e.g., “de facto deportable,” see Anderson, 2019). As it relates to offending and victimization, there is an expected prescience that these behaviors will be met with subsequent criminal legal attention, primarily by the police. Interactions with agents and proponents of the justice system represent a high-stakes reality that immigrants and their children approach with extreme caution. They have a lot to lose from interacting with criminal legal segments and face many threats to important facets of their lives like deportation, loss of remittances, and family separation (Menjívar, 2006; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004; Piquero, 2008; Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015). For example, immigrant mistrust of the police persists as a central characteristic of the immigrant experience in the U.S. (Becerra et al., 2017). In many contexts, they do not trust the police and remain reluctant to call upon them for help for fear of retribution (Zatz & Smith, 2012; Xie &

Baumer, 2019a, 2019b). As a result, immigrants and their familial networks often view police officers and immigration enforcement authorities as their persecutors and not their protectors (Hanna & Ortega, 2016; Zatz & Smith, 2012).

Altogether the unique content of the immigrant identity is difficult to separate from the influence of criminality and victimization as well as proximity to criminal elements. Many immigrants and their families understand how they are viewed in U.S. social contexts and adapt their behavior to mitigate potential threats to their standing. These cautions and apprehensions are woven into the fabric of the immigrant experience and identity for the early generations because of the inherent outsider or in-between position many first- and second-generation immigrants occupy (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Menjívar, 2006). As a result of this broader identity, immigrant agency and the intentional action taken towards baseline behaviors and changes to antisocial trends may take on the form of adopting conventional, unassuming behavior that drives conformity and avoidance of criminal elements altogether. While first-generation immigrants are not entirely immune from engaging in criminal activity or being targeted for violent victimization, they are galvanized to detect and avoid risky situations to mitigate the numerous human consequences that come from criminal and subsequent legal involvement (Becerra et al. 2017; García, 2013, 2014, 2019; Enriquez & Millan, 2019; de Graauw & Gleeson, 2020). For example, Gonzalez and colleagues (2020) interviewed DACA recipients across six states and found that vulnerability and fear underscore the immigrant experience.

As García (2014) noted in her qualitative study of immigrants from Escondido and Vista, California, immigrants—particularly undocumented—maintain a hyper

awareness of restrictive legal contexts. She found that immigrants take proactive approaches and protective reactions to ensure they blend in and avoid interactions with the police. The act of blending in is situational and ‘acting American’ is achieved through passing strategies and adaptations. These include purchasing newer looking vehicles, wearing a seatbelt, and limiting passengers in vehicle while driving, speaking (and sounding) more American, not wearing certain colors, and moving homes (García, 2013, 2014, 2019). Legal adaptations also occur but tend to lean towards criminogenic action. Some undocumented immigrants use false social security numbers to fraudulently gain employment and engage in otherwise legitimate transactions like purchasing vehicles or property (Skogan, 2009; Muñoz, 2011). Some use others in their network who have authorized legal statuses as proxies to engage in these transactions (Pinnamaneni et al. 2017a, 2017b). Moreover, adaptations are not merely for self-preservation as they have consequences for close friends and family. The second-generation take less care in these specific ways, comforted by the privileges brought to people born in the U.S. that do not have tenuous legal standing but must still contend with racial and residual effects of being a child of immigrants.

Summary

To summarize, social bonds tie people to important conventionalizing social institutions that generally reduce engagement in criminal activity and risky situations that enable violent victimization across developmental periods (e.g., adolescence to early adulthood). Specific turning points offer a pathway to directing or redirecting offending and victimization trajectories. For early-generation immigrants, social bonds may form differently, and a key mechanism involved in differential bond formation is acculturation.

First-generation immigrants may be more likely to retain more conventionalizing and traditional value systems that protect them from criminal proximities. Second-generation and later immigrants may engage in more maladaptive forms of acculturation (i.e., dissonant acculturation) that push these individuals towards deviant influences typical of American society. However, acculturation does not remain static across the life-course, and as one transitions into later life stages, agency becomes a more salient process. The formation of immigrant identity and its content are important to consider when one makes intentional decisions to conform to conventionalizing behaviors from the outset or later during important life events (e.g., traditional turning points, criminal activity, being victimized). Since the potential threats from engaging in criminal activity, being victimized, and criminal legal system attention is never far from the minds of immigrant individuals—especially those with more vulnerable statuses or intersections—the immigrant experience is tied to general refrainment from overt criminal elements and situations. As one transitions into later generations, there is a general deterioration of the bonds and content of identity that helps early generation immigrants experience reduced offending and victimization events.

Immigrant Offending

While this dissertation primarily focuses on individual-level processes, a large portion of the prior literature investigating the immigrant-crime link stems from research centered on larger, macro-units of analyses (i.e., crime rates in neighborhoods, counties, cities). The most comprehensive review to combine and analyze these macro-level immigration and crime studies was conducted by Ousey and Kubrin (2018). As the authors noted, 62 percent of prior studies reported either a null or no statistically

significant effect of immigration on crime. Among the smaller remainder of studies, the majority reported a negative effect. This reveals a distinct pattern among existing macro-level research involving immigrant-crime relationships. Most studies suggest findings supportive of the immigrant paradox summation. That is, on the whole scholarly findings run counter to the public narrative framing immigrants and immigrant influence as criminally inducing (Martínez & Lee, 2000; Martínez & Valenzuela, 2006; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009, 2018; Stowell & Martínez, 2007; Stowell et al. 2009; Martínez et al., 2010; Wadsworth, 2010; Martínez, 2014). Since the Ousey and Kubrin (2018) meta-analyses, which captured studies up to 2014, studies with a macro-level focus have since provided similar conclusions regarding immigrant concentration or reduced immigrant involvement in violent criminal offending (e.g., Gunadi, 2019; Han & Piquero, 2021; Orrick et al., 2021b).

Relevant to the current research focus, some studies have begun to bridge the gap across levels of analysis, seeking associations between immigration and individual-level outcomes (Wright & Rodriguez, 2014; Wolff et al., 2015, 2018). Three studies are highlighted here. First, Wright and Rodriguez (2014) examined the relationship between immigrant concentration on youth recidivism using data from the Maricopa County, Arizona court system and tract-level information. They reported that while immigrant concentration did not directly reduce individual recidivism, there were race and gendered effects. For Latino boys and Latina girls, the increase in immigrant concentration reduced the probability of recidivism; however, the increase in immigrant concentration only increased the probability of recidivism for white boys. Second, in a later study, Wolff and colleagues (2015) analyzed recidivism among youth completing community-based

supervision. Using Floridan-specific neighborhood-level information from the American Community Survey, the study found immigrant concentration reduced the risk of youth recidivism after controlling for individual and contextual conditions. Third, in a follow-up study using similar data, these authors isolated specific mechanisms contributing to the protective qualities of immigrant concentration (Wolff et al., 2018). They reported that even though immigrant concentration had a direct effect, having a two-parent household and family members incarcerated indirectly reduced and increased recidivism, respectively. These effects somewhat differed by race/ethnicity; however, analysis among Hispanic youth did not reveal any significant paths. They noted this Hispanic-related finding, or lack thereof, may be attributed to limitations of their analysis.

Overall, even though some disagreement exists, these extant studies are beneficial in informing how the immigrant-crime relationship holds at the micro-level. On the whole, one might expect immigrants to engage in crime less prevalently and frequently compared to their U.S.-born counterparts; however, to arrive at such a conclusion, one must venture into research targeting individual-level immigrant behaviors. Individual-level immigration research allows for more cohesive and person-specific investigations into delinquent and offending outcomes. Moreover, the ability to model cross-sectionally and, importantly, longitudinally provides flexibility in how scholarship approaches this relationship. The following sections provide summaries of this scholarship in an effort to center the life-course in studying this dissertation's primary topics.

Immigrant Offending and the Early Life-Course

At the individual-level, the bulk of studies analyzing immigrant status and offending focus on periods situated near the early life-course, predominately adolescence,

and generally adopt cross-sectional research designs (Bankston III & Zhou, 1997; Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Fridrich & Flannery, 1995; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Hagan & Palloni, 1999; Jennings et al., 2012; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Maldonado-Molina et al., 2010; Nielsen & Martínez, 2011; Peguero, 2011; Rumbaut, 2005; Salas-Wright et al., 2016; Titzmann et al., 2008; Vaughn et al., 2015; Vaughn & Salas-Wright, 2018; Wong, 1999). As such, key studies have contributed greatly to the existing understanding of how immigrant status contributes to offending risk and the effect other factors have in explaining this relationship (e.g., race/ethnicity, acculturation).

For instance, Fridrich & Flannery (1995) investigated delinquency with self-report data from 1,021 sixth and seventh-grade students from three middle schools in the southwest. Acculturated Mexican American youth were found to have a higher mean of delinquency engagement compared to unacculturated Mexican Americans, recent immigrants, and Caucasian youth. Additionally, parental monitoring reduced delinquency, but only for Caucasian youth; however, their results demonstrated that peer pressure mediates the relationship between parental monitoring and delinquency for all examined groups. This area has since grown quickly, much of it embedded in the domain of criminology or criminal justice.

An important early and seminal study was conducted by Hagan and Palloni (1999). Following a tumultuous period of restrictive immigrant-focused legislation in the late 1980s and the 1990s, Hispanic imprisonment was largely thought to be linked with immigration, specifically illegal immigration. In other words, immigrants were believed to be the source of many criminal offenses contributing to the growing imprisonment figures seen among Hispanic populations. As Hagan and Palloni argued, analysts

attempted to estimate the probability of imprisonment for these groups; however, to provide more accurate estimates, imprisonment figures have to adjust for factors known to scholars that contribute to criminal propensity (e.g., age, sex).

Using felony case data from two cities (El Paso, Texas and San Diego, California), they reported that pre-trial detention acts as a catalyst in the criminal justice system for more punitive outcomes among immigrants. While this can be attributed to a number of local and federal restrictive policies aimed at immigration enforcement, once age (15-34 years) and sex (male) are taken into account, the adjusted ratios for each of these outcomes drop considerably. For example, for Mexican immigrants, the base risk of incarceration was almost double what it was for Mexican-origin citizens (i.e., second-generation and beyond). Once adjusted, this risk dropped to just about even (no differences). As Hagan and Palloni put it, “when our knowledge of this differential treatment is integrated into estimates of ratios of immigrant to citizen offenders, using equations that begin with observed numbers of immigrants and citizens in state prisons, we find that these ratios are reduced below unity, the level that would indicate that immigrants are as involved in crime as citizens” (p. 630). This is expounded to highlight that while current immigrant research—with its growing contributions and complete individual-level data—takes this conclusion at face value, this was not always the case. While this article certainly considers more than just the early life-course and adolescence specifically, its inclusion in this part of the review is two-fold. First, Hagan and Palloni (1999) highlight the importance of this pre-adult period that generally characterizes the height of the age-crime curve in acquiring their adjusted estimates for immigrant system outcomes. Second, its cross-sectional nature does not allow for individuals to be tracked

over time and thus cannot evaluate how these individuals change as they move across these early developmental periods.

Bui and Thongniramol (2005) extended earlier research by considering the range of racial and ethnic variation for immigrant status on delinquency. They analyzed the first wave of the Add Health data, which predominately consisted of youth under the age of 18, and reported several notable findings. First, the study found significant differences across immigrant generations on various outcomes, including property and violent delinquency. In their predictive models, they found second- and third-generation youth had greater odds of engaging in property and violent delinquency compared to the first-generation, all else equal. When examining ethnic and generational interactions, they concluded that even though being Black or whites was associated with mixed effects depending on how generations were compared to another (e.g., second- vs. first-generation, third- vs. second-generation), Hispanics yielded effects most consistent with their findings with first-generation immigrants always having lower odds of property and violent delinquency compared to the later generations. Interestingly, immigrant generational statuses were not predictive of property or violent delinquency for Asians. This early study was instrumental in highlighting that not all racial and ethnic groups have the same immigrant generational differences on delinquency or offending. That is, the effect of immigrant statuses may differ depending on which race or ethnicity is examined. As will be discussed, Hispanic or Latino/a/x groups will continue to have salient immigrant generational effects on crime.

Morenoff and Astor (2006) also deserve added discussion as one of the most extensive studies in the immigrant-crime literature, particularly as it relates to violent

offenses. This study considered three important factors that are still seldom seen together in one examination: immigrant generations, length of time in the U.S., and level of acculturation. They analyzed PHDCN data with about 3,700 respondents from the nine-year-old cohort through the eighteen-year-old cohort. The authors reported that across most of the examined outcomes, second- and third-generation individuals always had increased odds of engaging in violence relative to first-generation immigrants. This included behaviors like hitting and throwing objects at someone, carrying a weapon, getting in a gang fight, and pickpocketing or snatching a purse. The age someone immigrated to the U.S. also factored into violence involvement. Generally, the older a respondent was when they came to the U.S., the less probable they were to engage in any violence. Similarly, the more acculturated a person was (i.e., linguistic acculturation), the more likely violent behaviors emerged. These findings offered strong evidence for assimilationist perspectives that greater assimilation or acculturation produces more criminogenic outcomes in later immigrant generations.

As scholars studying the immigrant-crime relationship at the individual-level began to examine longer periods of time across the life-course following the Morenoff and Astor (2006) study (see the following section), there are studies that contribute to the ethos that do not come from traditional surveys (e.g., PHDCN, Add Health, criminal justice system cases). For example, Salas-Wright and colleagues (2016) analyzed data from about 25,000 twelve- to seventeen-year-old individuals using cases from the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) Restricted Data Analysis System (RDAS). Analysis of this nationally representative dataset revealed multiple conclusions about young immigrant behaviors. Across five of the six outcomes related to violence and

delinquency, immigrants who had been in the U.S. less than five years had lower odds of engagement compared to U.S.-born adolescents. Immigrants who had been in the country five or more years only remained significant on two of six violent and delinquent outcomes. Age of arrival mattered, but the differences between arriving prior to or after age 11 were less starkly than the U.S. duration predictor. Finally, while in the expected negative direction for younger adolescents (12-14 years old), the study reported that older immigrant adolescents (15-17 years old) had lower odds of engaging in various forms of violence and delinquency relative to similarly situated U.S.-born youth. Given that research on the age-crime curve would suggest individuals' risk of offending goes up as they reach these peak offending ages, this is a notable conclusion. It would appear immigrant status suppresses this tendency towards offending, at least in this study.

Overall, these cross-sectional studies paint a portrait that conveys immigrants in a light that runs contrary to the public narrative. Immigrants, more specifically early generation immigrants, are less likely to engage in delinquent, criminal, or antisocial activities compared to their U.S., more integrated counterparts. This is especially true during adolescence, a developmental period marked by significant personal and social change. Since the beginning of the 2010s, the literature has begun to move beyond describing the general nature of the immigrant-crime relationship into explaining why immigrant generations differ on offending-related outcomes. As such, while more scholarship recognizes the importance of conducting this type of research, the longitudinal character of immigrant criminal offending remains an area that is underexplored and underdeveloped. The following section summarizes this scholarship to

provide a baseline understanding of how immigrant offending trajectories can be expected to form across adolescent and adulthood segments of the life-course.

Immigrant Offending into Adulthood

The investigation into immigrant involvement in crime—primarily through analysis between and within immigrant generational groups—at the individual-level has grown substantially in the last decade or so (Bersani, 2014a, 2014b; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Bersani et al., 2018; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Bui, 2009; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; DiPietro et al. 2015; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2013; Knight et al., 2012; McCann et al., 2021; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Sampson et al., 2005; Vaughn et al., 2014a; Vaughn et al., 2014b). At the macro-level, prior research suggests that immigrant-related factors (e.g., immigrant concentration) have some degree of reduction or neutralization on crime-related measures (Gunadi, 2019; Martínez, 2014; Martínez & Lee, 2000; Martínez & Valenzuela, 2006; Martínez et al., 2010; Orrick et al., 2021b; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009, 2018; Stowell & Martínez, 2007; Stowell et al. 2009; Wadsworth, 2010; Wolff et al., 2018). As Ousey and Kubrin (2018) noted, however, the relationship strength between immigration and crime depends on the study, how outcomes are operationalized, the specific unit of analysis, temporal condition of the data, and destination context (see Singer, 2004, 2015). As criminological research has grown to emphasize the greater influence of immigration, micro- and individual-level focuses have risen to the forefront. This research offers its own set of circumstances, conditions, and contexts to consider in

assessing the standing of the immigrant-crime link. As such, a consensus has begun supporting specific trends.

On the whole, early generation immigrants—primarily the first- and second-generation—are the least likely to be involved and perpetuate criminal or delinquent offending (Bankston III & Zhou, 1997; Bersani, 2014a, 2014b; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Bersani et al., 2018; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Bui, 2009; Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2013; Neilsen & Martínez, 2011; Rumbaut, 2005; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Sampson et al., 2005; Titzmann et al., 2008; Vaughn et al., 2014a; Vaughn et al., 2014b; Vaughn et al., 2015; Vaughn & Salas-Wright, 2018; Wolff et al., 2018). Among the studies that consider more than one data wave, the evidence to support this foregone conclusion is overwhelming (Bersani, 2014a, 2014b; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Bersani et al., 2018; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Bui, 2009; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; DiPietro et al., 2015; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2016; Jennings et al., 2013; Jiang & Peguero, 2017; Knight et al., 2012; Lopez & Miller, 2011; McCann et al., 2021; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Sampson, 2008; Sampson et al., 2005; Vaughn et al., 2014a; Vaughn et al., 2014b).

Key studies offer insight into the extent of the immigrant-crime relationship, particularly as individuals transition into early segments of adulthood and exit the height of offending. Here I highlight three seminal efforts that have helped shape the way immigrants are viewed in this context. The first is a study conducted by Rumbaut (2005),

who sought to investigate the extent to which ethnicity, gender, and immigrant generation influence important socio-economic trajectories, including incarceration. Rumbaut analyzed the California portion of the Children of Immigrants and Longitudinal Study (CILS), a nationally representative study surveying the experiences of second-generation youth. While this study only focused on the second-generation, it reveals several insights into what factors are salient in predicting second-generation risk of incarceration. They found that none of the dominant ethnic origins (Mexican, Filipino, and Vietnamese) predicted incarceration. This is interesting as the authors noted that Mexican-origin youth had the highest rates of arrest and incarceration; however, it would appear other factors—like an intact family context (e.g., having one parent at home) and school disciplinary issues (e.g., suspensions)—do a better job of explaining likelihood of incarceration. This study was instrumental in positioning a framework that not only considers differences across immigrant generations on criminal outcomes but within immigrant generations as well.

Next, Sampson et al. (2005) were among the first to consider the immigrant-crime link at the individual-level using comprehensive data (e.g., multi-wave, neighborhood measures). While the authors did not place their primary focus on immigration, they did analyze the impact of immigrant status among other traditionally relevant factors contributing to criminal offending. Using data from over 2,900 respondents from three waves of the PHDCN, they found that first-generation immigrants had reduced reported violence compared to third- or higher-generation individuals. When compared to second-generation immigrants, first-generation immigrants also reported less violence, but the effect was not as great after controlling for background and neighborhood conditions.

Later, Robert Sampson turned his attention to understanding this trend in Chicago neighborhoods (Sampson, 2008). Not only did Sampson (2008) find notable crime declines in immigrant-dominant neighborhoods, but that immigrant-generational status promoted lower crime across various races and ethnicities. This report was instrumental as it suggested that immigrant-protective effects did not only extend to specific Latino populations. As Sampson (2008, p. 31) put it, “immigration isn’t just about Mexicans, it’s about the influx of a wide range of different groups.” This poignant conclusion is important considering that much of the immigrant-crime research focuses on Latinos and Latino immigrants, many of whom have Mexican origins.

As such, studies continue to find racial and ethnic variation among immigrant generational differences in offending. Reingle and colleagues (2011) focused on violence perpetration among Add Health Hispanics. With two waves of data from about 4,800 adolescents, they reported that being U.S.-born was highly associated with serious violence engagement. All else being equal—controlling for important risk and protective factors like alcohol use and speaking Spanish at home, respectively—they reported that third-generation status had the highest risk of serious violence engagement relative to first- and second-generation statuses. This study exemplifies the importance of Hispanic populations in this area research; however, Hispanics are not the singular focus all the time. Powell et al. (2010) used the same dataset as Reingle et al. (2011) but focused their efforts on three waves of the Add Health and various racial and ethnic groups. The study concluded Black, White, and Hispanic first-generation immigrants had lower rates of delinquency relative to later generations. Of interest, Asian first-generation immigrants had the greatest onset of delinquency compared to later generation Asians, but Asians as

a group also had the greatest precipitous drop in delinquency regardless of generation. Bersani (2014b) expanded on this notion in their study analyzing NLSY97 data from about 4,100 respondents. They found that second-generation immigrants differed across certain factors on offending measures relative to native-born individuals by race/ethnicity. For instance, there were significant differences between second-generation youth and native-born non-Hispanic Blacks and native-born Hispanics (third-generation) on the relationship between family structure and the probability of arrest. Family structure (i.e., both parents living in intact households) was related to decreased arrests among both native-born groups; the relationship was not notable for second-generation youth.

Finally, Vaughn et al. (2014b) greatly contributed to this area, especially as it relates to adult immigrant populations. Their examination of the National Epidemiologic Survey of Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) applied a dataset originally constructed to explore alcohol and drug use conditions, but the extensive collection of immigrant-related factors provided a fruitful avenue for examining immigrant generational status and behaviors. They concluded that across two waves of data, immigrants (born outside the U.S.) were less likely to engage in nonviolent and violent behavior compared to native-born Americans and held over time. For immigrants, however, every additional year living in the U.S. increased the likelihood of violence and non-violence. Differences were also found by ethnic origin. Native-born Americans were the most likely group to engage in all violent behavior, followed by European, Latin American, Asian, and then African immigrants. On this end, Asian immigrants

experienced the lowest levels of violent behavior, and African immigrants had the lowest levels of nonviolent behavior.

Despite broad support against prevailing narratives, several correlates have emerged to support the existence of the immigrant paradox, including family-, school-, and relational factors (Bui, 2009; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; Jiang & Peguero, 2017). A primary example is seen in research by DiPietro and McGloin (2012). Their study of about 1,800 individuals from the PHDCN focused on familial and peer influences alongside immigration on delinquency. In their full sample, the immigrant paradox was upheld, meaning that early generation immigrants were less likely to be violent than third- or higher-generation immigrants. However, once peer deviance was analyzed, then these generational differences degraded. The first-generation still engaged in less violence compared to the third-generation, but there were no longer differences compared to the second-generation. This was bolstered by subsequent analyses, which held that peer deviance positively increased self-reported violence regardless of immigrant status. Despite this, the authors noted first-generation and second-generation immigrants were more influenced by peers than their third-generation and higher counterparts. Altogether, they offer convincing evidence that peer deviance should be considered when studying the immigrant-crime link. This was also supported by Jiang and Peguero (2017). This study used first- and second-wave data from Add Health to assess the impact of immigrant generational status, social control, and delinquent peers on delinquency. For the roughly 13,000 respondents, compared to third-generation, first-generation status was negatively associated with violent delinquency but not second-generation. Between-group differences were not found for nonviolent delinquency.

Within-generation effects were notable. For first-generation immigrants, being Black, prior delinquency and involvement in school trouble predicted greater violent delinquency. For the second-generation, being young, male, Hispanic, greater community disadvantage, and delinquent friends increased the risk of the outcome. The third-plus generation saw demonstrably more factors reduce and increase risk of violent behavior. As it relates to nonviolent delinquency, prior delinquency, negative family attachment, and delinquent friends increased risk of nonviolent delinquent involvement. Given the between-group effects highlighting the protective role of first-generation status and the varied within-group effects, it is clear that certain factors play a greater role in how later generations gravitate or refrain from criminal offending.

Bui (2009), in one of the earliest immigrant-crime studies to adopt a more longitudinal perspective, also emphasized family and school factors. In their initial models analyzing approximately 12,900 respondents from the first two waves of the Add Health, they found that first-generation individuals, relative to those in later generations, were more likely to experience greater involvement in property and violent delinquency. However, once family and school measures were analyzed, no differences remained between the first-generation and third-plus generation respondents. They also reported that second-generation immigrants were more likely to report violent delinquency relative to first-generation immigrants holding all variables constant. DiPietro and colleagues (2015) specifically highlighted the prominence of the school context in impacting immigrant-related violence. They analyzed data from the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) program and Community/Community Works (T.C.C./C.W.), which offer insight into almost 3,000

students from around the country. While immigrant status was found to be a salient predictor of violence involvement, the study importantly reported multiple cross-level interaction effects between student-level immigration status and school-related factors. First, immigrants who attended schools with more delinquent school cultures were less likely to engage in violence. In these environments, immigrants may refrain from violence to better protect their school standing. Second, immigrants who attended schools with higher levels of school commitment were more likely to engage in violence. While counter to theoretical and research expectations, this specific finding may be attributed to frustrations born out of attending a school with a more competitive and academic culture. Immigrants in these environments might find themselves as outsiders and in opposition to the rest of the students in their schools.

Several studies have also investigated the roles of relationships and marriage in immigrant contexts (e.g., Sampson et al., 2005). Notably, Jennings and colleagues (2013) analyzed data from a random sample of Hispanic male inmates and found married Hispanics were less likely to be high-rate late-onset escalators, which is telling as this trajectory group was the only one to continue offending into late middle age. Immigrants tended to belong to groups with lower frequencies of offending across the life-course (e.g., low-rate and high-rate late-onset). Additionally, in their examination of NLSY97 data containing roughly 8,600 respondents from 1997 to 2009, Bersani and DiPietro (2016) reported that first-generation immigrants had a lower prevalence of offending but similar offending frequencies compared to later generations. Marriage provided a desistance effect across the full sample; however, its greatest effect was seen in the second-generation. As opposed to marriage as a state, the work of Craig et al. (2020)

focused on three relational factors that could inform immigrant generational differences in criminal involvement among Pathways to Desistance youth. While tolerance of deviance and relational monitoring reduced self-reported offending for second-generation immigrants and the native-born, only tolerance of deviance had a similar effect for first-generation immigrants.

Several studies have addressed important theoretical gaps in the literature by using assimilation explanations. Assimilation-based studies generally support the familiar notion that first-generation immigrants participate in crime less and offend less compared to individuals in the second-generation and onward (Bersani, 2014a; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2016; Knight et al., 2012; Lopez & Miller, 2011; McCann et al., 2021). Many of these simply or directly state that immigrant generation can act as an indicator for assimilation in which later generations are hypothesized to be more integrated and thus more susceptible to criminal influence (Bersani et al., 2014). However, to provide greater methodological footing and apply the perspective, they often include some direct assimilation-relevant measure. Just as Vaughn et al. (2014a) summarized, while competing explanations exist (e.g., fear of deportation, legal consequences), there is general support for a more straight-line assimilation perspective as the prevalence of offending increases substantially from the first-generation of immigrants to the second, which attenuates in later generations. The authors referred to this as an intergenerational severity-based gradient and appropriately color the general state of the immigrant-crime research at the individual-level. But as noted previously, the differences across

important racial and ethnic groups at least partially support segmented assimilationist principles (Morenoff & Astor, 2006).

In a study by Lopez and Miller (2011), two waves of PHDCN data were analyzed to investigate acculturation effects on offending among 763 Hispanic adolescents. They found first-generation status predicted lower violence and overall delinquency relative to the third-generation; the second-generation was not found to predict any specific outcome; however, their directional relationship was negative. Finally, there were no differences when comparing Mexican and Puerto Rican adolescents on any delinquent outcome. Another study focused on the influence of ethnic identity on offending trajectories with information from 300 Mexican American youth in the Pathways to Desistance study (Knight et al., 2012). They reported that a greater proportion of first-generation immigrants belonged to the trajectory with high ethnic identity and low self-reported offending. This is informative as ethnic identity is seldom examined in immigrant studies despite its prominence in related social science disciplines such as sociology and psychology (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Verkuyten & Fleischmann, 2017).

Similar to Knight et al. (2012), Bersani and colleagues (2014) analyzed Pathways to Desistance data to assess offending trajectories of different immigrant generations. They concluded that first-generation immigrants reported lower rates of offending (arrest and self-report) and had a more distinct downward trajectory compared to second-generation immigrants and native-born peers. Next, first-generation immigrants had weak representation in the high-rate persistent group opposite later generations, which had greater and similar group membership levels for the persistent offender group. To provide a more direct measure of assimilation, this study also applied an acculturation-

rating scale. Their results would suggest that assimilation differences (i.e., differences in acculturation) matter more for first-generation immigrants and context matters (e.g., disadvantage) more for second-generation immigrants. The work of McCann et al. (2021) built on this work using the same dataset and concluded that first-generation immigrants were less likely to engage in criminal offending than the second- and third-generation; however, the second-generation, in some instances, were more likely to offend than third-generation. Overall, while McCann et al. largely found that factors related to segmented assimilation (e.g., school engagement, motivation to succeed) did not predict offending, contrary to expectations, this would suggest that straight-line assimilation is not so clear cut as well.

Many recent studies have begun to identify and address gaps in this literature base, moving beyond generalized descriptive findings regarding the immigrant-crime relationship choosing to focus on important aspects of the methodology. First, Bersani and Piquero (2017) hypothesized that differences across immigrant generational offending could be attributed to varied treatment from the criminal-legal system and differential reporting of crime. By analyzing self-report offending, self-report arrests, and official arrest data from Pathways to Desistance study youth, they could examine variation between reporting types across immigrant generations. They found that arrest trends are similar across generations at the baseline; however, first-generation immigrants generally trend lower than other generations in later waves. Next, when examining within generations, some variation occurs between self-report arrests and official arrests, most notably that first- and second-generation respondents tended to record greater self-reported arrests than those officially

reported. Between generations, however, sees first-generation immigrants with the lowest likelihood of offending (self-report offending and arrest) and consistent degree of similarity or convergence regardless of the mode of reported offending. Overall, the authors encountered little evidence of under or over-reporting arrests across generations. This is important as differences across and within generations could be attributed to how data is collected and then subsequently analyzed.

The study conducted by Bersani and Pittman (2019) was a notable addition, but more so as it relates to how immigrant generations are assessed. Here, they examined three waves of merged data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79) and NLSY-Child and Young Adult (NLSY_CYA) to investigate immigrant intergenerational transmission of crime. Theoretically, the authors suggested that downward assimilation into criminal subcultures is what largely drives the immigrant intergenerational severity gradient—leading to increased criminal outcomes for later and later generational groups. However, no previous studies had examined this *within* families, more so relying on between familial differences. Linking mothers with their children (N = 1,379), the authors found differences in mom-child dyads in offending. They concluded first-generation moms were less likely to be involved in any crime and in serious crimes relative to the second and third-plus generation. Moreover, they found that dyads including an immigrant mother and second-generation child showed greater differences in offending relative to later generational dyads.

The study conducted by Bersani and colleagues (2018) uniquely contributed to the literature by including undocumented immigrants. This addition is important as previous literature could not identify specific sources of legal heterogeneity inherent to

the first-generation immigrant label (e.g., differences based on legal status). They found interesting differences based on legal status and reporting type in their analysis of the Crossroads Study—a study of approximately 500 first-time juvenile offenders from Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and California. Their results generally conform to broader research, specifically as it relates to documented immigrants and their native-born counterparts. However, undocumented immigrants fared somewhat differently; while they were less likely to report criminal engagement, they were more likely to be re-arrested than other immigrants. The authors briefly explained that this finding might be the result of secondary sanctioning following an arrest.

Overall, the available individual-level immigrant and crime research provides a clear-cut conclusion: crime is more prevalent and frequent for later generations than first-generation immigrants. This trend, however, does not tell the whole story. First-generation status indeed acts as a protective factor against violent outcomes. Yet, as shown, second-generation immigrant status does not always significantly predict delinquency and offending when compared to any other generation. This suggests that assimilation does not always operate in a straight line, and neither do segmented assimilation-related factors (e.g., race/ethnicity, family) have the same effect for everyone in an examined sample, context, or developmental period. Research into different outcomes may express similar trends. The following section offers insight into a related immigrant outcome impacted by immigrant generational status, victimization.

Immigrant Victimization

The victimization of immigrants is heavily underexamined and underprioritized in social science research. Just as McDonald (2018) summarized, the limited nature of this

area can be attributed to a number of difficulties, including gaining information on crime victims and acquiring immigrant status information. Victimization itself, while recent in focus relative to the examination of criminal offending, has begun to garner attention. However, immigrant victimization is more nuanced than broader public narratives would suggest. Just as in criminal offending, the risk of immigrant victimization relies on some overlapping and distinct features related to the immigrant experience like acculturation, ethnic origin, and so on (Zatz & Smith, 2012). Immigrants as victims, extending beyond first-generation immigrants who come as adults as extensions of this immigrant designation (e.g., 1.5-generation, second-generation), should also be considered as part of the broader research focus.

A primary feature of the immigrant experience is the potential for violence exposure. For immigrants coming to the U.S., the migration process is long and arduous, especially among those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Postmigration experiences are stressful as immigrants confront discrimination, legal hurdles, acculturative resistance, and prominent language barriers (Esses, 2021; Jolie et al., 2021). Most importantly, immigrants tend to endure various exposures to violence, especially among Latino/a and Asian immigrants, impacting their general wellbeing and integration into local communities (Hong et al., 2014; Jolie et al., 2021; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006). As immigrants settle and establish roots, violence exposure does not necessarily dissipate. They continue to encounter a host of factors that comprise the general immigrant experience in the U.S. (e.g., acculturation, discrimination). Moreover, immigrant-targeted violence is often integrated into the law, the criminal justice system, and everyday interactions as the immigrant diaspora transpires (Menjívar, C., & Abrego,

2012; Solis, 2003). In this way, immigrants and their children may face various forms of violence, including physical assault, robbery, getting shot, murder, and countless other forms of personal and vicarious violent events. This tends to be reflected in the broader research.

To provide a broad overview of the literature, this section focuses on key studies related to both macro-level and micro-level research examining the immigrant role on criminal victimization outcomes. The existing individual-level immigrant-specific victimization studies in adolescence and early adulthood will be necessarily highlighted. The guiding thread through these studies is violent victimization. Victimization is a broad area, and while other victimization types are certainly endured by early generation immigrants (e.g., fraud, severe forms of sexual assault), the focus of this dissertation will center around violence more generally.⁴ This framing is important to illuminate the existing gaps related to the holistic study of immigration and violent victimization, as well as its need to be contextualized within the greater life-course.

Immigrant Victimization in The Aggregate

To provide a more complete picture of immigrant victimization, particularly violent victimization, research at greater levels of measurement demonstrates a baseline for the extensive nature of these events. A handful of key studies will be discussed that show the general character of immigrant victimization. First, it is important to understand the prevalence of immigrant victimization in the U.S. Earlier research using the 2000

⁴ This is not to draw attention away from the unique severity of these types of crimes, more so that the nature of these require specific attention. For example, sexual, dating, or intimate partner violence involving immigrants is often gendered, cultural, and embedded in work or interpersonal contexts. As such, immigrant sexual and domestic violence victimization are worthy of their own lines inquiry that can better address their sinuous nature (see e.g., Sanderson et al., 2004; Decker et al., 2007; Wright & Benson, 2010; Sabri et al., 2013; Sabina et al., 2020; Rai & Choi, 2021).

U.S. Census and data from the first wave of the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions (NESARC) suggest that, generally, the U.S.-born and foreign-born have a similar prevalence of personal victimization at 4.1 percent (Wheeler et al., 2010). Wheeler and colleagues went on to conclude that nativity status did not significantly predict personal victimization in advanced statistical models controlling for relevant factors (e.g., demographics, residency). This means being a first-generation immigrant did not increase or decrease the risk of victimization. Why is this the case? On a national scale, this is important. It demonstrates that immigrants are similarly susceptible to violent victimization relative to their native-born counterparts. Additionally, it highlights the need to investigate factors unique to the immigrant frame that contribute to these findings.

Assuredly, similar to offending, one of the most influential factors contributing to suppression or reduction in violent victimization is immigrant concentration. Much of the existing work would suggest that immigrant concentration acts as a violence-reducing or neutralizing social force, despite varied explanations of why, that persists as a central feature of the immigrant-crime and immigrant-victimization relationship (Kubrin & Desmond, 2015; Sampson et al., 1997; Xie & Baumer, 2019b). Yet, research in this area is sorely lacking. The bulk of the literature is concentrated on violent crime rates and not necessarily violent victimization rates (see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018; Pendergast et al., 2018). Among the existing studies, two dimensions of the immigrant-victimization connection at the macro-level emerge, context and underreporting. Lauritsen (2001) highlighted this in their examination of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data from 1995. Using the area-identified supplement, tract-level information, and

200,000 person interviews, the author applied hierarchical modeling to analyze how contextual and individual-level factors contribute to violent victimization. They found that the effect of immigrant concentration reduced the overall risk of victimization in central, urban areas; however, it increased the risk in non-central, rural areas of the country. This effect held within neighborhoods, and while immigrant concentration did not reduce the risk of stranger victimization, neither did it increase it. Overall, the immigrant concentration in rural areas requires further consideration as the neutralizing effects of immigrant concentration were more salient in urban centers. The type of locale is relevant to this line of inquiry.

Recent studies have highlighted that not all immigrant contexts are similar and that traditional immigrant destinations differ from newer destinations (Singer, 2015). In a study by Shihadeh and Barranco (2013), these differences are highlighted in homicide victimization. They used U.S. Census data to predict the impact of Latino immigrant concentration and its change on Latino homicide in different destination types. They found concentration had little impact on Latino homicide in U.S. counties; however, a change in the Latino foreign-born population had a positive effect on the outcome in new immigrant destinations with no effect on traditional ones. This suggests that it is predominately newer immigrant locales that are greater at risk for victimizations. Traditionally immigrant-dominated locales appear to suppress exposures to violence in significant ways.

A potential explanation in support of the victimization reducing effects of immigration is seen in the study of crime reporting, particularly among Latinos. The decision for victims to report a crime—to the police or an alternative notification method

(e.g., health services, family/friends)—is complex and includes factors at multiple-levels (Xie & Baumer, 2019a). Relevant to the current discussion, the neighborhood context, primarily immigrant-focused, is important to the understanding of the extent of the immigrant influence on victimization. Xie and Baumer (2019b) highlighted the importance of this in their analysis of NCVS data. Generally, the estimated likelihood of reporting a crime to the police decreased as the percentage of foreign-born increased (Gutierrez & Kirk, 2017). However, in non-traditional counties, crime reporting dropped drastically after around the 40th percentile of foreign-born (Xie & Baumer, 2019b). Furthermore, an immigrant-sensitive policy may play a role. As Martínez-Schuldt and Martínez (2021) concluded using similar data and information from metropolitan statistical areas, Latinos are more likely to report violent and property victimization following the adoption of sanctuary policy⁵.

While studies researching immigrant involvement in crime at meso- or macro-levels offer substantial insight into the broader criminological/sociological dynamics of immigrant victimization (Martínez, 1997; McDonald, 2018; Pendergast et al., 2018), research at the individual-level offers a more nuanced look into its etiology. This literature can be categorized in a linear manner according to the period of the life-course examined. The first set of individual-level studies are more cross-sectional in nature and focus predominately on adolescence or the period leading up to the traditional peak age of offending (i.e., late pre-teens to 18 years of age) in the life-course. The second set of

⁵ Sanctuary policies are designed “to better integrate members of immigrant communities and to signal that local leaders and institutions are receptive and responsive to the needs of immigrant groups” (Martínez-Schuldt and Martínez, 2021, p. 159). For a review of these policies and their role on crime in the extant literature, see Martínez et al. (2018).

studies with an adult focus tend to examine early adulthood, investigate multiple developmental periods, and are usually longitudinal in nature.

Immigrant Victimization and the Early Life-Course

The literature on individual-level victimization during the early life-course is less voluminous compared to the offending literature, yet research has revealed particular trends. Predominately, these studies emphasize what transpires in school-related contexts during adolescence. An early example is Peguero (2008) that examined data from the Education and Longitudinal Study (ELS) of 2002. Generated by the Research Triangle Initiation for the National Center for Education Statistics, this longitudinal study is widely used in the prior literature as it captures indicators necessary to discern immigrant status among students from hundreds of secondary schools across the country. Peguero used the first wave of data to explore how immigrant status predicts various outcomes among a Latino-only subsample of 1,457 respondents. They found that relative to first-generation immigrants, those in the second- and third-generation were more likely to experience violent victimization (e.g., being hit, threatened). Notably, the coefficients increased drastically across these latter generations, which would suggest that the later a generation one belonged to, the greater their odds of being victimized. A similar gradient effect was also seen for property victimization and school disciplinary outcomes. Interestingly, first-generation immigrants were most likely to report not feeling safe at school. The study also concluded that those with poorer English proficiency relative to native speakers were more likely to endure violent victimization. Overall, while immigrant status did protect against various forms of victimization, it might also depend on language elements that could increase the vulnerability of adolescents in school.

It is important to note that some victimization studies focus on Hispanics or Latina/o/x populations without any explicit indication of an immigrant status measure or focus. For example, Jennings et al. (2016) and Maldonado-Molina et al., (2010) examined offending and victimization among Hispanic youth but did not provide an immigrant indicator nor were they framed as such (also see e.g., Miller & Lopez, 2015). The literature reviewed throughout this text examines ethnicity together with immigrant status or just immigrant status as a standalone exogenous factor.

Following this, Peguero (2009) conducted another study using the same data now focusing on Latino, Asian American, and white students. The analysis of a sample of over 8000 students yielded several results relevant to both the influence of immigrant status and race/ethnicity backgrounds. They found that relative to first-generation Latino and Asian immigrants, second- and third-generation immigrants were more likely to be violently victimized. This suggests that across the whole sample, first-generation status acted as a protective factor relative to white American third-plus generation students. The same is upheld for property victimization but only for Latinos and not Asian Americans. Within the Latino subsample, first- and second-generation Latinos were less likely to be victims of violence and property theft. Within the Asian American subsample, the direction of the relationship reversed. Early generation Latinos are protected against the analyzed outcomes; however, Asian Americans only receive these protective benefits when compared to native white Americans, not necessarily within their own ethnic group. Generally, early immigrant generations, regardless of race or ethnic background, did not feel safe in school.

In these earlier studies, social bonds are framed as important components of the developmental immigrant experience, particularly in school settings (Peguero & Bondy, 2020). While not focused on victimization specifically, Peguero and Bondy (2011) analyzed ELS 2002 data and reported that early generation immigrants were more likely to have stronger relationship with their school teachers (e.g., getting along with them, working hard for praise). Peguero et al. (2017) also reported social bonds to school tend to diminish across immigrant generations. A more recent study by Bondy and colleagues (2019) specifically highlighted the effect of immigrant generational status on four types of social bonds to school (attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief). They concluded being a first-generation Latino had the most consistent positive effect on all four social bonds. These highlight the broader import of the application of bonds in the general immigrant research on youth outcomes.

Koo et al. (2012a, 2012b) also analyzed the first wave of the ELS 2002; however, they focused on the intersection between race/ethnicity, sex, and immigrant status on victimization. Using multilevel modeling, Koo et al. (2012a) investigated an Asian and white subsample of 6,750 students. They reported that compared to white males, female Asian American immigrants were more likely to be violently victimized; however, there was no effect when examining male Asian American immigrants. When the four items used to make up their additive victimization measure—strong-arm robbery, getting hit, bullied or picked on, and threatened—were disaggregated and analyzed, both male and female Asian American immigrants were more likely to be victims of strong-arm robbery relative to white males. With the exception of being threatened, which revealed to be a greater risk factor for female Asian American immigrants, immigrant status did not

predict victimization for the other victimization types. Koo et al. (2012b) expanded their prior effort to study the differences across more racial/ethnic categories and between- and within-immigrant groups across almost 10,000 students. In their female subsample, first-generation immigrant status was negatively associated with lower victimization compared to third-plus generation females. Moreover, Latinas and female Asian Americans in the first- and second-generation had lower odds of victimization compared to third-plus generation white females. While first-generation status did not have an effect on the outcome, being a first-generation Latino decreased the risk of victimization, and being a first-generation African American increased the risk. Within immigrant generation, analyses produced similar results. For the females, first-generation Latinas and Asian Americans were less likely to be victims relative to first-generation whites. A similar effect held for Asian American females within the third-plus group; however, Latinas had no effect on victimization while African Americans increased risk of victimization compared to third-plus generation whites. First- and second-generation statuses did not produce an impact for males; however, third-plus generation Latinos were more likely to be victimized than similarly situated whites, with blacks having the reverse effect. Across these two studies, two important trends begin to emerge. First, earlier immigrant generation status generally protects against violent victimization in school contexts. Second, this effect is not universal and varies depending on the reference group and demographic analyzed, like race/ethnicity or sex (Hong et al., 2014). This demonstrates that immigrant status is a notable feature neutralizing victimization, but its application is not universal, nor does it have equally protective properties within immigrant generations.

Recent studies have also incorporated school contexts to examine the immigrant-victimization link with important departures (Peguero et al., 2021a; Yang et al., 2021). Yang and colleagues (2021) studied the intersection of race/ethnicity on immigrant status and victimization. This study differed greatly from the aforementioned research in three distinct ways. First, it used a relatively recent dataset in the form of the California Healthy Kids Survey (CHKS). This survey collected information from middle- and high-school students from California schools to comprehensively capture their academic and nonacademic experiences (e.g., language barriers, health). Second, it used a seven-item School Victimization Scale (SVS) to better capture a range of victimization types. Previous studies would limit their victimization scales or additive measures to no more than four items, likely attributable to the variables in the ELS 2002 study.⁶ Three, it focused on schools where the majority of the student body was made up of Hispanic or Latinx students. Controlling for relevant variables, Yang et al. (2021) reported that immigrant status reduced victimization. Additionally, they found belonging to the racial/ethnic majority (or minority) of the school—Hispanic or Latinx in this case—interacted with immigrant status to predict the outcome. They found there was little difference in victimization if an immigrant student was Hispanic or not.

⁶ The 7 items included in Yang et al.'s (2021) examination of victimization were embedded in a separate appendix and comprised of an additive continuous measure that included the respondents experiencing any of the following items: 1) been pushed, shoved, slapped, hit, or kicked, 2) been afraid of being beaten up, 3) been in a physical fight, 4) had been mean rumors or lies spread about me, 5) had been sexual jokes, comments, or gestures made, be, 6) been made fun of because of your looks or the way you talk, and 7) had your property stolen or deliberately damaged. ELS 2002 victimization items usually included at least one of the following four items: 1) someone threatened to hurt me at school, 2) someone bullied me or picked on me, 3) someone hit me, and 4) someone used strong-arm or forceful methods to get money or things from me. Extant studies using the ELS 2002 tend to distinguish between violent and property victimization (Koo et al., 2012a, 2012b; Peguero, 2009), while Yang and colleagues (2021) did not.

While demographic features tend to be a prominent focus of this literature, scholarship has also applied criminological theory to understanding differences across immigrant generations. Similar to Koo et al. (2012b), Peguero (2013) used a similar sampling frame within the ELS 2002 to study the effects of lifestyle and routine activities parameters and how immigrant status conditions violent and property victimization. Controlling for relevant factors and compared to third-generation immigrants, first-generation status negatively predicts violent victimization, and while second-generation did not significantly do so, the relationship was in the same direction. For property victimization, being a first-generation immigrant reduced the risk but did not have an effect among the second-generation. However, some activities impact risk for some generations. For example, participation in academic activities (e.g., school plays, choir, student government) increased the risk for violent victimization for the first-generation but actually reduced risk for the second compared to the third-generation. While this might be related to the increased exposure that might uniquely make immigrant students more vulnerable targets for violence, it demonstrates risk factors in the school context are not equally distributed across immigrant generations.

The effect of low self-control has also been examined to study violent victimization conditioned by immigrant status (Luo & Bouffard, 2016; Zavala & Peguero, 2017). Zavala and Peguero (2017) studied adolescent victimization using evaluation from the Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) Program. First enacted in the 1994-1995 school year, GREAT was constructed as a school-based gang prevention program focused on adolescent students across U.S. cities and sites (Esbensen & Winfree, 1998). While GREAT surveys have had subsequent follow-ups, Zavala and

Peguerro (2017) analyzed the first wave of the program and information from about 5900 male and female students across 42 middle schools. Both the male and female subsamples showed that immigrant status predicted lower serious victimization. Although low self-control did predict victimization, self-control was not found to condition the link between immigrant status and victimization, suggesting the two operate more independently of one another.

In broader contexts, the immigrant paradox tends to hold. MacDonald and Saunders (2012) used individual and household survey data from Los Angeles neighborhoods to examine youth violence in an urban context. Violent victimization defined here overlaps somewhat with the ELS 2002 and includes some similar items like being threatened or hit. Most important to the current review, immigrant households showed a significant decrease in the odds of being victimized. Additionally, following some weighting adjustments, the authors concluded that 6.3 percent of immigrant youth reported victimization compared to 9.4 of nonimmigrant youth.

Another study conducted by Wong (2017) also analyzed immigrant generational status on victimization. They used data from the first wave of the nationally-representative Add Health study and reported several notable findings for the 13,000 available respondents. First, the study found that across different ethnic subsamples (e.g., Mexicans, Cubans, Asians), the relationship between immigrant generation and victimization varied. For example, second- and third-generation immigrant (relative to first-generation) status did not predict victimization for the Mexican subsamples; however, among Cubans, only belonging to the 3rd generation reduced the risk of victimization compared to the first-generation.

Immigrant Victimization into Early Adulthood

As individuals move from adolescent periods to early adulthood, victimization trends change as distinct victimization trajectories emerge, and so do predictors (DeCamp & Zaykowski, 2015). From the immigrant frame, the victimization experiences might also differ across generations and change as they come into adulthood. In this way, those going through this transition require additional discussion. To study the prevalence of lifetime violent victimization, Biafora and Warheit (2007) analyzed data from 1,473 respondents from a ten-year follow-up of a 3-wave panel study from the Miami-Dade school system. Specifically, while males experience greater lifetime violent victimization, the authors reported no significant differences across U.S.-born Cubans, immigrant Cubans, immigrant Nicaraguans, African Americans, and whites. This would suggest immigrant groups were no less or more at risk of victimization. These findings establish a baseline for later literature to introduce important predictive factors.

Research on adult immigrant populations illuminate facets of victimization, often conditioned or affected by migratory-related processes. For instance, Fussell (2011) collected data from a purposive sample of Latino immigrants. Primarily using data from consular surveys, the authors examined various forms of victimization among migrants settling in New Orleans, Louisiana, following Hurricane Katrina in 2008. As Fussell concluded, likely due to language and phenotypical characteristics, Latino migrants are particularly vulnerable to robbery and physical assault. This varies by nationality and the various differences those bring, such as the use of Brazilian Portuguese among Brazilians compared to Spanish for Mexican immigrants. Additionally, those more likely to walk or travel alone are also more susceptible to victimization and may be seen as “walking

ATMs.” However, not all adults have the same degree of legal standing and exposure to violence. Bucher and colleagues (2010) highlighted in their exploratory study the experiences of 90 undocumented migrant workers in Memphis, Tennessee. They concluded that over at least 10 percent of these, mostly early to middle-aged adults, had experienced theft, robbery, and violent attacks in the U.S. They found that the less time someone had been in the country and at their residence, the more likely they were to fall victims to all crimes examined. While this may seem counterintuitive as one may suspect more time in the risk pool (e.g., being in the U.S.) would lead to a greater risk of victimization, being undocumented makes immigrants especially vulnerable as targets for many crimes.

Nationally representative surveys paint a similar portrait for adult immigrants. Luo and Bouffard (2016) used Waves I and III of the Add Health to study the immigrant influence on exposure to violence. Since the authors focused on assessing victimization on Wave III, the nearly 5000 analyzed respondents had just entered early adulthood (range of 18-26 years of age). The study reported that prior victimization positively predicted future victimization. First-generation and second-generation immigrant status—while in the expected direction—did not predict violent victimization. However, greater assimilation positively impacted the outcome and was notably higher among later immigrant generations (i.e., native-born). In a nationally representative sample of Latino women from the Sexual Assault Among Latinas (SALAS) Study, Sabina and colleagues (2013) reported several findings regarding lifetime victimization. This study was notable as the average age of the 2,000-person sample analyzed was about 44 years old, demonstrably older than prior work. They found that immigrant status reduced the odds

of any lifetime victimization as well as all other forms as well including stalking, physical, sexual, and threat victimization. In terms of counts among those victimized, immigrant status continued to remain a protective factor against all forms of victimization. Two additional findings are notable among this victimized subsample. First, Latino women who subscribed to greater Latino orientation (e.g., I speak Spanish) and lower Anglo orientations (e.g., I speak English) had a lower risk of any victimization. Second, the greater the length of time a respondent had in the U.S., the greater the odds of the same outcome. As Sabina et al. (2013, p. 23) noted, “the overall propensity of victimization appeared, from this study, to be lower among immigrants both when examined descriptively and in light of acculturation.” As one of the few studies to explicitly examine immigrant status and acculturation directly on the outcome of interest, this would suggest that both are important in how they influence adverse behavioral outcomes later in the life-course.

Recent work continues to address the immigrant generational frame on exposure to violence in different contexts. Antunes and Ahlin (2021) adopted an approach examining exposure to community violence using various cohorts (9, 12, and 15) of the PHDCN. Across 80 families and 1,610 youth, 40 percent of whom were Hispanic-Latino, the study analyzed family management strategies on youth victimization and witnessing violence. Compared to the third-generation, greater supervision and discipline within the home reduced victimization for early generation immigrants. Outside of the home, greater restrictiveness (unsupervised access in the neighborhood) reduced victimization for early generation immigrants, while parents knowing youths’ peers and diverse activity engagement tended to increase it. Controlling for community and youth-level measures,

the authors importantly concluded that first-, 1.5, and second-generation immigrants were less likely to be victims of violence or witnesses to violence.

The Link Between Offending and Victimization Across Immigrant Generations

The research investigating how offending and victimization relate using the immigrant generational frame is currently in its nascent stage. Thus far, seminal and contemporary studies have revealed two suggestive trends in prior literature involving immigrants and their proximity to crime: 1) reduced immigrant involvement in criminal offending and violent victimization generally persists, with some exceptions, across a wide range of contexts and life circumstances, and 2) research efforts exploring the immigrant-crime link and immigrant-victimization link have operated relatively independent of one another. The former is an emergent conclusion that studies continue to find much more often than when examining offending *and* violent victimization outcomes (e.g., Peguero, 2008, 2009; Koo et al., 2012a, 2012b; Kubrin et al., 2018; Craig et al., 2020; Lopez & Miller, 2021; McCann et al., 2021). By expanding and combining the latter would offer much in the way of contextualizing immigrant proximity to criminality over important developmental periods. However, research that simultaneously or concurrently considers immigrant offending and victimization is extremely sparse. The research that does exist offers valuable insight into how the two are intimately connected.

To parse out the offender-victim overlap across immigrant generations, I turn to a variety of research lines. The challenge in assessing the specific overlap is not whether one can make conclusions about immigrant crime or victimization as distinct outcomes but whether they have been considered within the same context. To do so, research is discussed that includes offending and victimization in the same study or examination.

The need to do so is demonstrated by Rojas and colleagues (2015). In a comprehensive review of the literature linking race/ethnicity to adolescent violence, they presented a wide array of studies discussing immigrant crime and victimization, even at the individual-level. More specifically, Rojas et al. (2015, p. 142) detailed the following: “In general, consistent with macro-level research, recent multilevel and individual-level research on the immigration-crime link has found support for the notion that: (1) immigrant youths perform better than their native-born counterparts in regard to violent outcomes, and that (2) the likelihood of engaging in interpersonal violence increases with successive generations.” While these types of conclusions can be made about the relationships between immigrant status and violence, offending and victimization are seldom examined together despite the wealth of research intricately linking the two, especially in longitudinal lenses (e.g., Sullivan et al., 2016; Schreck et al., 2017; Mulford et al., 2018).

Offending and Victimization Among Immigrant Populations

Scholarship considering individual offending and victimization among immigrant populations is notable but sparse. While the literature base discussed here provides an insightful look into this area, it is important to note that much of this work still remains *prima facie* or only suggests that overlap between offending and victimization exists and that it is conditioned by immigrant generation. This is consistent with Gibson and Miller’s (2010, p. 17) assessment over a decade ago. The study conducted by Gibson and Miller (2010), however, is important to elaborate on since it is among the first to comprehensively consider both offending and victimization outcomes with a focus on Hispanic and immigrant adolescents. With a segmented assimilation framework (Portes

& Zhou, 1993), their argument extended the offending context to victimization experiences. They used data from 763 respondents across two waves of the PHDCN to assess the outcomes of interest. Offending was captured via a self-reported variety index of violent and property crimes. Victimization was captured using an exposure to violence index made up of six items ranging from being hit to threatened seriously. Controlling for neighborhood-level characteristics as well as individual-level ones, the authors reported findings highly relevant to the current dissertation.

They first reported that compared to first-generation immigrants, the second-generation were more likely to be violently victimized. While the third-generation did not produce a comparable outcome, it was in the same positive direction as the aforementioned finding. When assessing mediating influences, these two trends held for the models that incorporated self-control and parenting measures; however, after delinquent peers were introduced into the model then the second-generation lost its predictive power on victimization. The prevalence analysis for offending produced a more familiar outcome. Compared to first-generation immigrants, the second-generation were more likely to engage in violent offending (and offending more broadly). The effect was substantially greater when comparing the third-generation to the first. Finally, contrary to theoretical expectations, language acculturation was not found to have a consistent effect on the prevalence of either outcome. With the exception of property offending, immigrant generations were found to have varied effects on both offending and victimization. While both outcomes in this study did not strictly adhere to the intergenerational severity gradient found in prior literature, the results of this study pave a pathway forward to examining their distinct overlap.

Next, the school-context continues to be applied to study exposure to violence. Like studies before, Peguero and Jiang (2014) analyzed about 10,000 students from the ELS 2002. This study is notable as it used immigrant generations as a primary predictor of violent victimization and antisocial behavior, or in this case, school misconduct. Controlling for social control (e.g., attachment, commitment), background, and school-level factors, first-generation youth were much less likely to engage in misconduct behaviors—like skipping classes or getting into fights—compared to third-plus generation youth. While in the same direction as the first-generation, second-generation status did not predict misconduct. As it relates to victimization, both first- and second-generation students were generally less likely to be victims compared to the third-plus generation.

In a later study, Peguero et al. (2021a) stressed violence in schools could be experienced or perpetrated differently in this context. While it had to aggregate much of its individual-level data, this study used the 2015-2016 School Survey on Crime Safety, a nationally representative survey encompassing over 2100 primary and secondary schools, to investigate violent, property, and school crime. It reported that having a higher proportion of children of immigrants in schools did not predict most of the outcomes examined; however, it did vary by type of school and the ethnic makeup of those schools. As it relates to urban schools, for example, having more children of immigrants reduced violent crime insofar that every 1 percent increase in this group produced a 1.9 percent decrease in the rate of violent crime if schools were made up of 30 percent Latina/o/x. More Latinos, in this instance, would reduce violent crime. This is similar to Yang et al. (2021), which purported that having dominant Latinx environments produced more

favorable victimization conditions for those in close proximity to the immigrant designation. Peguero (2021b) is also noteworthy as they showed victimization is not only salient as an outcome but also as a predictor. Using information from multiple waves of the ELS 2002 from about 12,000 youth, dropping out depends on immigrant generation and by sex. Among female students, victimization interacts with immigrant status in which first-generation immigrants who are victimized at school are less likely to drop out than third plus-generation students. Unlike females, male youth had a similar interaction effect, but for the second-generation; the study found only second-generation males who are victimized at school are less likely to drop than the third plus-generation.

Studies with community-level data and nationally representative samples have also revealed insight into immigrant offending and victimization patterns. Miller (2012) used the PHDCN to focus on 763 Hispanic children and several risk and protective factors leading to both violent offending and victimization outcomes. With a focus on two waves of data and multiple cohorts of youth reported several interesting findings. They found that first-generation Hispanics were less susceptible to frequent violent offending and violent victimization in reference to youth born in the U.S. As it relates to prevalence, first-generation Hispanics were less likely to be violent or overall offenders. Across the entire sample, about a quarter of which were first-generation immigrants, 76.6 percent reported engaging in at least one offense and being a victim of violent crime compared to their reporting from the first wave (12 months prior). A study by Eggers and Jennings (2014) used Wave 1 information from a Hispanics subsample (N=743) of the Add Health to investigate the impact of social bonds and violent offending on victimization conditioned by birth location. Among the 743 Hispanic youth, the study

reported that the protective effects of foreign-born status on victimization dissipated with the inclusion of family attachment and background factors. Violent offending was by far the most impactful measure, greatly increasing the odds of violent victimization.

Lopez and Miller (2021) most recently expanded this work, considering how social bonds moderated and mediated victimization among a Latino subsample of the Add Health data. They importantly considered both the effects of delinquency and violent victimization at Wave 1 on violent victimization at Wave 2. The study reported that relative to foreign-born Latinos, native-born Latinos had significantly greater mean values on a number of categories, including delinquent peers and engagement in delinquency and victimization (both waves); native-born Latinos were also observed to have lower parental involvement/monitoring than foreign-born Latinos. In their regression analyses, greater delinquency and prior victimization involvement were both positively associated with greater odds in Wave 2 victimization. Importantly, native-born Latinos had greater odds of Wave 2 victimization across models until the interactive effects between various social bond measures were included. Only native-born Latinos with higher levels of maternal attachment were less likely to report Wave 2 victimization. At baseline and across the total mediation models, native-born status remained a salient positive predictor of victimization at Wave 2, controlling for all included factors. Native-born Latinos were less likely to have parental monitoring, which then increased the risk of victimization. Overall, Lopez and Miller demonstrate that social bonds play an active role in the link between offending and victimization, but it may differ when examining within Latino subgroups (native- vs. foreign-born) with varying effects in magnitude and explanatory power. Finally, Mammadov and colleagues (2020) examined Wave 1

through 4 of the Add Health and analyzed various victimization outcomes across waves. Prior delinquency is held as a prominent predictor of increased victimization over time, including prevalence and repeat victimization. Immigrant status, contrary to much of the prior literature, did not significantly reduce any victimization measure after controlling for included factors.

A Note on the Importance and Utility of Longitudinal Frameworks in Immigrant-Crime and Immigrant-Victimization Research

The bulk of individual-level immigrant-focused studies use certain techniques to analyze cross-sectional and longitudinal data like various descriptive and regression-based analyses, latent growth curves (LGC), group-based trajectories (GBTM), and multilevel modeling. Each is used to accomplish specific research objectives, and each differs in its conceptual and methodological approach. While the bulk of the cross-sectional literature focuses on single-level regression or hierarchical modeling (e.g., Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Bucher et al., 2010; Koo et al., 2012a, 2012b; Luo & Bouffard, 2016; Zavala & Peguero, 2017), there is much to gain from applying longitudinal approaches to immigrant offending and victimization. Apart from the theoretical expectations, a longitudinal approach is empirically beneficial as individuals are more like themselves over time. That is, while a between-person examination is important to understanding behavior in relation to others, it is also fruitful to explain how individuals themselves change. For immigration offending research that examines individual-level phenomena and considers within-individual change, both the MLM approach (Bersani, 2014a, 2014b; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Sampson et al., 2005) and trajectory

modeling (Bersani et al., 2018; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010) are favored. However, as it relates to immigrant victimization, very few studies based in the U.S. have considered individuals in a longitudinal frame by examining within-individual effects or trajectories of victimization (Biafora & Warheit, 2007; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Lopez & Miller, 2021; Luo & Bouffard, 2016; Mammadov et al., 2020). A notable exception is Jugert & Titzmann (2017), which examined victimization trajectories of German and Russian Jewish immigrants. They reported decreased prevalence and frequency in victimization trajectories among immigrant groups, however, found greater acculturation (i.e., longer length of residence) limited this protective effect compared to native German youth.

The decision to use any given longitudinal method depends on how each analytic strategy models change over time, researcher preference, and consideration for unique immigrant-related conditions. Any given method is useful, but specific approaches have tradeoffs and benefits that color how conclusions are made about immigrant behavior. In this way, GBTM is a particularly useful analytic technique.

Latent Growth Curve and Multilevel Modeling

To understand the utility of GBTM, first, I discuss how LGC and MLM approaches model human behavior. LGC models longitudinal data using structural equation modeling (SEM) and parametrizes time via factor loadings through repeated measures of latent factors representing intercept and slope (Byrne, 2013). Through the use of a dual-domain approach (intercept and slope), LGC can distinguish between individual-level and group-level effects in the data (i.e., observed through means and covariance structures). This is most compared to MLM, which examines and analyzes

clusters of data and nests individuals within ‘themselves’ to account for growth in repeated measures. As Bryk and Raudenbush (1987) noted, the within-subject and between-subject models test for individual and between-person variations over time. Fixed and random effects can be estimated accordingly. Byrne (2013) noted that the difference between MLM (e.g., Hierarchical Linear Modeling or HLM) and LGC is that MLM uses time as a predictor variable; however, the model structurally nests individuals at different levels. LGC considers time via generation of factor loadings which reflects a similar approach to HLM under certain conditions. LGC does well to provide model evaluation (i.e., model fit), MLM allows for more flexible model specification (Chou et al., 1998). Currently, much of this research is couched within life-course perspectives (see Craig et al., 2020), which places emphasis on theoretically driven factors. Thus, model specification is vital to framing and understanding why differences emerge between immigrant generations. This is not to state that LGC models do not allow for model specification insofar that independent variables require careful consideration as each is impactful when fitting the model. Model fit is crucial to determine if the model is acceptable and is necessary to properly and accurately assess differences between and within immigrant generations. Finally, and importantly, LGC and MLM both consider single population-level trajectories (Nagin, 2016).

The Case for Group-Based Trajectory Modeling to Effectively Model Immigrant Offending and Victimization

GBTM requires special consideration as a valuable modeling strategy for immigrant-related behaviors. Nagin and Land’s (1993) use of GBTM provided foundational support for expanding beyond a “single invariant age-crime curve” (Nagin,

2016, pp. 359; also see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1988). In Nagin and Land (1993), four trajectory groups emerged detailing an early taxonomy of offenders (e.g., low chronic, adolescent limited). GBTM adopts finite mixture modeling to identify a discrete number of trajectory groups made up of individuals. These groups of individuals are identified using latent methods. To do so, two assumptions are made. First, these groups are not assumed to exist a priori. This suggests these groups might exist; however, they are not directly observable and are not assumed to be neatly embedded in the data. Second, the identification of latent groupings is assumed to be more objectively captured. Yet, as Skardhamar (2010) detailed, it depends on how the researcher defines the model choice set. Based on these assumptions, GBTM assumes that these latent groupings could emerge as a result of more general social processes—as posited by general theories of crime (e.g., Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1988).

The implementation of GBTM helps to identify how certain factors distinguish different types of offending trajectories. For immigrant-focused studies, the effect of immigrant status is typically determined from the likelihood of belonging to a trajectory characterized by low offending (e.g., low rate, low rate chronic) (see Jennings et al., 2013; Piquero et al., 2014a). In some cases, it is a matter of whether immigrant status predicts belonging to a trajectory group ostensibly less or more criminally-inclined than another (e.g., low rate chronic offender vs. high rate chronic offender). As opposed to other applications of GBTM where trajectories of offending are modeled by immigrant generational groups (see Bersani, 2014b), this approach is feasible even with smaller sample sizes that immigrant-focused studies tend to suffer from.

For studies including immigrants, sample size impacts multiple aspects of GBTM that may require careful handling. First, diagnostics may differ based on a study's final sample size. For example, using the Akaike information criterion (AIC) may be preferred as the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) varies with sample size while the AIC does not (Nagin, 2005, p. 74). Second, following model determination, smaller overall samples may divide into smaller trajectory groups. Depending on the size of these groups, one may question whether immigrants are aptly represented in each group to such a degree that one can make conclusions about their trajectories. Jennings et al. (2013), for instance, addressed this concern well with reasonable divisions within the data. This concern may also categorically exclude those of certain characteristics. Piquero and colleagues (2014a) had to focus on male youth in their analysis using the Pathways to Desistance data because there were not enough females in the sample. As such, limited sample sizes should be a prominent concern for those who intend to apply GBTM in individual-level immigration studies.

Despite potential barriers, a group-based approach suits an investigation into immigrant behaviors. As the prior research shows, while immigrants on the whole trend towards reduced offending and victimization behaviors, there are certain qualifications related to other important risk and protective factors (e.g., social bonds, ethnicity) that color the degree of these effects. Considering that traditional growth curve models assume common growth processes (Nagin, 2005, p.7), a GBTM approach will allow flexibility into modeling more of the heterogeneity that immigrant behaviors encompass. Additionally, GBTM does not follow an ex-ante or a priori assumption set and instead focuses on post model estimation to generate groups and group trajectories. This is much

needed as there is still much to learn about the impact of early immigrant generational status on behavioral and behavioral change, particularly with violent offending and victimization.

Purpose and Contributions of the Current Study

The current body of literature exhibits a wide array of findings indicating that early immigrant generation status, primarily first-immigrant generation, reduces the risk of criminal offending and violent victimization. It also recognizes that important factors, particularly social bonds and ethnicity, play a role in the degree that immigrant status produces a protective effect. However, immigrant-centered offending and victimization generally exist as two separate strands of research despite evidence that the two are intricately connected. Additionally, the prior literature is limited insofar as longitudinal designs are underutilized in assessing whether immigrant protective effect on offending and victimization hold across time and individuals. Using longitudinal data from a previously adjudicated sample, the present study will examine the impact of immigrant generational status on trajectories of offending, victimization, and both via dual-trajectory analysis.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of criminal offending? If so, to what degree?

Hypothesis 1: Later immigrant generational status will predict membership into higher criminal offending trajectories.

Research Question 2: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of violent victimization? If so, to what degree?

Hypothesis 2: Later immigrant generational status will predict membership into higher violent victimization trajectories.

Research Question 3: Does immigrant generation predict patterns of joint criminal offending and violent victimization? If so, to what degree?

Hypothesis 3: Later immigrant generational status will predict joint patterns of criminal offending and violent victimization trajectories.

CHAPTER III

Data and Methodology

Data and Sample Information

Data for the current project were taken from the Pathways to Desistance Study (Mulvey et al., 2004; Schubert et al., 2004). The purpose of the Pathways to Desistance Study was to collect information regarding the behavioral trajectories of serious adolescent offenders from diverse settings. This study collected data over 84 months from previously adjudicated youth in Maricopa County, Arizona and Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. Participant enrollment of the study occurred over a twenty-six-month period, with the first baseline interview completed in November 2000 and the last baseline interview completed in January 2003. To facilitate data collection, computer-assisted interviews were conducted on laptop computers in an adolescent's home or a private room if the participant was in institutional placement.

This dissertation uses data from a mixture of open and restricted data from the Pathways to Desistance available through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR). These data offer specific information into certain background and theoretical measures to complete the current inquiry. The data requested were from the Pathways to Desistance Study Subject Measures (ICPSR 29961), Subject Measures – Scales (ICPSR 36800), and Calendar Data (ICPSR 32282). The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Sam Houston State University approved the current research project alongside a request for the data.

The Pathways to Desistance Study contains numerous waves of data with a host of information collected at each point. The longitudinal study had eleven total periods of

data collection, which include the baseline interview and ten follow-up interviews. At the baseline, the previously adjudicated sample is comprised of 1,354 youth. This initial collection effort represents the most complete wave of data across all variables of interest. At this baseline, background factors or time-invariant factors were gathered. These include time-stable measures that theoretically remain stable over the duration of collection effort and, largely, the life-course. The follow-up sample to be used in the analysis will vary from the baseline and include time-varying covariates that could impact patterns of behavior over time.

Traditional Follow-Up Interviews

The follow-up interviews after the baseline include data collected every six months until the third year when interview intervals changed to twelve months. As such respondent follow-ups were collected at month 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84 post-baseline. This equates to approximately seven years of time collected for study participants.

Monthly Follow-Up Interviews

Some data to be analyzed include data from the Calendars portion of the study, which include monthly follow-up interviews rather than the traditional follow-up periods. The data contains 87 months of post-baseline data; however, only 84 months will be assessed to remain consistent with the traditional follow-ups.

Measures

Dependent Variables

While prior research suggests offending and victimization play key roles across the developmental life-course, scholarship also suggests that the two are intricately linked

and should be examined within a similar context. *Criminal Offending* is measured using self-report information from Pathways to Desistance Calendar data. This measure used the aggressive offending frequency variable, which takes the sum of the frequencies reported across eleven offenses. Participants were asked if they had engaged (0=no, 1=yes) with any of the following behaviors during each month of the recall period since the previous interview period. These items included (1) purposely destroyed or damaged property not belonging to them, (2) purposely set fire, to a house, building, car, or vacant lot, (3) forced someone to have sex, (4) killed someone, (5) shot someone, (6) shot at someone where they (the respondent) were the one who pulled the trigger, (7) taken something from another person by force, using a weapon, (8) taking something from another person by force, without a weapon, (9) beaten up or physically attacked someone so badly that they probably needed a doctor, (10) been in a fight, and (11) beaten up, threatened, or physically attacked someone as part of a gang. While the study had collected 84 months of available respondent data, the calendar data reported 87 months. For the present analysis, I will use the 84 linear months that align with the traditional Pathways to Desistance follow-up points. Moreover, an additional count measure was created, collapsing these months conditional on the baseline and follow-up interviews for Research Question 3 analysis. Since the Pathways to Desistance Study traditionally contains 10 follow-up waves taken across 84 months, collapsing the monthly data will be conducted according to the monthly allotment for each wave. For example, to generate the six-month follow-up or wave 2 criminal offending measure, the first six months of these frequencies will be added up to match the traditional time frame. At baseline, the

offending mean across the sample was 13.551 (SD=42.561, Range=0-876). The descriptive statistics for the baseline can be viewed in Table 2.⁷

Violent Victimization uses the Exposure to Violence Scale (ETV). The ETV was initially developed by Selner-O'Hagan et al. (1998) to address the shortcomings of previous exposure to violence instruments (e.g., consistency in items, interval scaling, psychometric verification). In the Pathways to Desistance study, ETV is comprised of two subscales, one related to experiencing victimization of a crime and one witnessing a crime. This study uses the victimization subscale of six items. These included asking the victim if in the months since the previous interview, they have: (1) been chased where they thought they might be seriously hurt (2) been beaten up, mugged, or seriously threatened by another person, (3) been attacked with a weapon, like a knife, box cutter, or bat, (4) been shot at, (5) been shot, and (6) had someone attempt to rape them or been sexually attacked in some other way. These were collected during each of the traditional follow-up periods, including the baseline, which asked if they had ever experienced the items on the ETV scale.⁸ The variable represents a count of these six items with a mean of 1.575 (SD=1.457, Range=0-6).

⁷ These descriptive statistics for this variable are higher in value than one would suspect. This baseline value is based on the recall for those aggressive offending acts in the past year at time of initial interview. Since I focus on month-to-month intervals, the values are naturally lower. For example, at the one-month follow-up, the mean aggressive offending frequency across the sample was 0.27 with a standard deviation of 0.764 and range of 0 to 8 acts. These align more the numerical values seen in subsequent analysis (e.g., Figure 1).

⁸ According to the Pathways to Desistance website, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted for this scale at baseline. The results revealed that a standardized solution containing all the items showed acceptable fit (NFI=0.964, NNFI=0.957, CFI=0.977, RMSEA=0.035). For further information, see <https://www.pathwaysstudy.pitt.edu/codebook/etv-sb.html>

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics at Baseline and Post-Baseline*

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Outcome Measures</i>					
Offending	1,351	13.551	42.561	0	876
Victimization	1,354	1.575	1.457	0	6
<i>Time-Invariant</i>					
Generation	1,144	3.229	1.284	0	4
1 st	79	--	--	--	--
2 nd	87	--	--	--	--
2.5	106	--	--	--	--
3 rd	93	--	--	--	--
3.5	779	--	--	--	--
Sex	1,354	0.136	0.343	0	1
Race/Ethnicity	1,354	1.229	0.823	0	3
White	274	--	--	--	--
Black	561	--	--	--	--
Hispanic	454	--	--	--	--
Other	65	--	--	--	--
Age	1,354	16.044	1.142	14	19
Parental Education	1,329	1.697	0.946	0	5
Early Onset	1,354	1.520	1.191	0	5
<i>Time-Variant</i>					
Affirmation	1,350	2.977	0.486	1	4
Affirmation (\bar{x})	1,213	3.001	0.377	1.523	3.986
Identity	1,350	2.462	0.522	1	4
Identity (\bar{x})	1,287	2.396	0.412	1.133	3.800
Family Support	1,354	6.062	2.112	0	8
Family Support (\bar{x})	1,199	5.194	1.620	0	8
Non-Family Support	1,354	1.552	2.303	0	8
Non-Family Support (\bar{x})	1,199	1.044	1.188	0	7.25
Neighborhood	1,352	2.312	0.806	1	4
Neighborhood (\bar{x})	1,076	2.257	0.680	1	4
Routine Activities	1,350	3.825	0.848	1	5
Routine Activities (\bar{x})	1,077	3.068	0.609	1.143	4.679
Antisocial Peers	1,253	0.712	0.286	1	5
Antisocial Peers (\bar{x})	1,283	1.727	0.511	1	3.773
Exposure Time	--	--	--	--	--
Exposure Time (\bar{x})	1,290	0.666	0.293	0.001	1

Note: Time-varying variables with \bar{x} provide mean across post-baseline waves.

Independent Variables

The primary independent variable of interest is *immigrant generation*. This variable comprises multiple observed birthplace measures about the participant, their biological parents, and biological grandparents. Here I use the same classification as seen in Table 1; however, I exclude the 1.5-generation since it requires an indicator of when a person migrated to this country that is not available with the current data (see Table 3).

Based on the classification strategy, the respondents are organized into five generational categories for this study: first-generation immigrant (foreign-born youth, parents, and grandparents), second-generation immigrant (native-born youth, foreign-born parents and grandparents), 2.5-generation immigrant (native-born youth, one foreign-born parent, foreign-born grandparents), third-generation (native-born youth, parents, and at least one foreign-born grandparent), and 3.5-generation (native-born youth, parents, and grandparents). Each of these generations is mutually exclusive and is coded on a range from zero (0) for first-generation immigrants to four (4) for 3.5-generation natives. These variables are dummied in the analysis, with first-generation immigrants set as the reference.

Table 3

Immigrant Generations Classification Without the 1.5-Generation

Generation	Respondent Birthplace	Mother Birthplace	Father Birthplace	Grandparent Birthplace
1	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.
2	U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.	Non-U.S.
2.5	U.S.	U.S. or Non-U.S	U.S. or Non-U.S	Non-U.S.
3	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	Non-U.S.
3.5-plus	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.

Across the entire baseline sample, there is complete data on all measures used to make up immigrant generational status for 1,144 of the sample, with the majority of individuals belonging to the 3.5-generation group (see Table 2).

Time Invariant or Stable Covariates. This set of stable predictors are measures collected at baseline and expected to remain time-invariant or stable across time. These specific measures are guided by prior studies, many of which have used the current dataset to consider offending, victimization, and/or immigration status as salient factors in their analysis. Basic demographics were captured at the baseline interview. *Sex* is coded dichotomously (0=male, 1=female), with most of the sample reflecting males. *Race/Ethnicity* is categorized as white (0), Black (1), Hispanic (2), and other (3). For the analysis, each will be dummied with white as the reference category. The majority of study participants identified as Black, followed by Hispanic, white, and then other. Since this study uses time as the measurement structure and most respondents enter the baseline wave at different points, age (in years) is controlled for (Mean=16.044, SD=1.142, Range=14-19). *Parental Education* reflects both parents' highest education level. Each respondent was asked to indicate the highest level of education that their biological mother and father completed. The options ranged, (0) grade school or less, (1) some high school, (2) high school diploma, (3) business or trade school/some college/graduate of a 2-year college, (4) college graduate, and (5) some graduate or professional school. These were reverse coded from the initial measure for ease of interpretation. Both scores were averaged to provide a mean parental education measure (Mean=1.697, SD=0.946, Range=0-5). Lastly, to account for early indications of antisocial behaviors, this study controls for *Early Onset of Problem Behavior*. The baseline interview captures five behaviors that occurred before age 11. Respondents were asked if (no=1, yes=1) before age 11 they got into trouble for cheating, disturbing class, being drunk/stoned, stealing,

and fighting. A count of these items was taken to make up the final measure with a mean of 1.520 (SD=1.191, Range=0-5).

Time-Variant Covariates. This set of predictors are used as a means of controlling for effects that may impact the analyses over the time points examined. Two variables related to acculturation are included to ensure immigrant generational status effects are isolated. *Affirmation and Belonging* is a subset of seven items from the Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity (Phinney, 1992). Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed with relevant statements on a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). The seven statements include: (1) I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me, (2) I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to, (3) I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group, (4) I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, (5) I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group, (6) I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group, and (7) I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background. A mean of the items was generated and at baseline demonstrated a value of 2.977 (SD=0.486, Range=1-4).

Identity Achievement is a subset of the same measure by Phinney (1992). This subset was made up of five items using the same Likert-type scale. The five statements include: (1) I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs, (2) I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group (3) I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership, (4) In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group, and (5) I

participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. A mean of these items was also generated for this variable with a baseline score of 2.462 (SD=0.522, Range=1-4).

Family-related variables are included to address cultural conditions that may impact offending and victimization risk. As such, this study incorporates two variables that address the closeness of the family unit as a proxy for family support or familism often seen in Hispanic or Latina/o/x populations (Craig et al., 2020; Sabogal et al., 1987). *Family Social Support* is a measure taken from the modified version of the Contact with Caring Adult inventory (Nakkula et al., 1990; Phillips & Springer, 1992). This inventory aimed to assess the presence of supportive adults present in an adolescent's life. Across eight social support domains, participants were asked to indicate if at least one person from their family satisfied the domain (0=no, 1=yes). These include (1) adults you admire and want to be like, (2) adults you could talk to if you needed information or advice about something, (3) adults you could talk to about trouble at home, (4) adults you would tell about an award or if you did something well, (5) adults with whom you can talk about important decisions, (6) adults you can depend on for help, (7) adults you feel comfortable talking about problems with, and (8) special adults who care about your feelings. The mean score of this value at baseline was 6.062 (SD=2.112, Range=0-8). Similarly, the importance of non-family influences of social support might also impact outcomes in this study. *Non-Family Social Support* is also taken from the same inventory as the previous measure (Nakkula et al., 1990; Phillips & Springer, 1992). Across the same eight social support domains, participants were asked to indicate if at least one

person from outside of their family satisfied the domain (0=no, 1=yes) (Mean=1.552, SD=2.303, Range=0-8 at baseline).

The amount of time an individual spends outside institutional confines represents a risk of engaging in offending or being victims of violent crime (Craig et al., 2020; Mulford et al., 2018; Piquero et al., 2001). *Exposure Time* captures the amount of time spent freely in the community or outside of an institution such as group home/supervised community living, residential treatment center, medical hospital, psychiatric hospital, shelter/emergency home, secure living, jail/prison, detention, and other. This variable is made up of the number of days that an individual spent outside of these settings divided by the number of days in the recall period. For example, from the 6-month follow-up to the 12-month follow-up, if an individual spends 24 days in a residential treatment center and there are approximately 180 days in the recall period, then they spent 156 days at exposure. Using this, a proportion score of exposure time was created (e.g., $156/180 = 0.866$ time of exposure). Since the variable is predicated on a previous recall period, it is not available at baseline.

Neighborhood Disorder used the Neighborhood Conditions Measure that assesses the environment surrounding the adolescent's home (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). This measure captures twenty-one items related to physical disorder and social disorder. Using a Likert-type scale ranging from never (1) to often (4), respondents were asked how often does each of the items occur in their neighborhood: (1) cigarettes on the street or in the gutters, (2) garbage in the streets or on the sidewalk, (3) empty beer bottles on the streets or sidewalks, (4) boarded up windows on buildings, (5) graffiti or tags, (6) graffiti painted over, (7) gang graffiti, (8) abandoned cars, (9) empty lots with garbage,

(10) condoms on sidewalk, (11) needles or syringes, (12) political messages in graffiti, (13) gangs (or other teen groups) hanging out, (14) adults hanging out on the street, (15) people drinking beer, wine or liquor, (16) people drunk or passed out, (17) adults fighting or arguing loudly, (18) prostitutes on the streets, (19) people smoking marijuana, (20) people smoking crack, and (21) people using needles or syringes to take drugs. A mean score of the items was taken to construct this measure. At the baseline, the mean was 2.312 (SD=0.806, Range=1-4).

Unsupervised Routine Activities was analyzed to control for everyday routine activities and unstructured socializing that are heavily linked to the study outcomes, particularly violent victimization. To do so, this variable takes items from an adapted version of the “Monitoring the Future” questionnaire (Osgood et al., 1996). Respondents were asked how often they participate in certain activities using a Likert-type scale ranging from never (1) to almost every day (5). The activities include how often they rode around in a car (or motorcycle) for fun, get together with friends informally, go to parties or other social gatherings, and go out for fun and recreation. A mean of the items was generated to create this variable with a mean of 3.825 (SD=0.848, Range=1-5) at the baseline interview

This study includes the variable *Peer Antisocial Behavior* to account for the impact of deviant peers throughout the examined time points. Respondents were asked nine questions from a subset of peer delinquency questions adopted from the Rochester Youth Study (Thornberry et al., 1994). Respondents were asked to indicate how many of their friends had engaged in a listed antisocial activity since the last interview date, ranging from none of them (1) to all of them (5). The behaviors include: (1) have hit or

threatened to hit someone, (2) sold drugs, (3) gotten drunk once in a while, (4) carried a knife, (5) carried a gun, (6) owned a gun, (7) gotten into a physical fight, (8) been hurt in a fight, (9) stolen something worth more than \$100, (10) taken a motor vehicle or stolen a car, (11) gone in or tried to go into a building to steal something, and (12) gotten high on drugs. A mean score was generated using all twelve items (Mean=0.712, SD=0.286, Range=1-5).

Analytic Strategy

In the study of individual-level criminological data, research with a focus on immigrant populations has employed several longitudinal methodologies. As I note in the previous chapter, to examine immigrant generational differences in offending over time, scholarship tends to lean towards multilevel modeling techniques as well as growth curve modeling. To account for the structure of the Pathways to Desistance data and some common limitations of traditional growth-curve modeling techniques, I rely on a mixture of descriptive and group-based trajectory modeling (GBTM), including dual trajectory modeling. This study will use the statistical package Stata 17 and the *traj* plugin to perform GBTM (Jones & Nagin, 2013).

Descriptive Analyses

The patterns of criminal offending and violent victimization will be analyzed. Since the available offending measure comes from the Calendar data, average frequency offending will be analyzed using 84 monthly data points (i.e., waves). Considering that previous longitudinal analyses of immigrant offending have been limited in the number of waves available, this monthly approach provides a significantly nuanced view of these behavioral patterns over time.

Unlike the offending measure, violent victimization was only available in the traditional eleven waves contained in the Pathways to Desistance Study; however, since it contains a variety scale that is used as a count measure, frequency of violent victimization will be descriptively examined. The frequency of violent victimization will be analyzed using the average number of victimization events for an individual during each time period. This approach will allow for a comparison of how frequent violent victimization occurs is in the sample.

Group-Based Trajectory Modeling

GBTM is a technique used in social science research to assess group-based trajectories of behavior taken across various developmental periods (Nagin & Land, 1993). As Nagin and Odgers (2010, p. 111) described, GBTM is a specialized “application that uses trajectory groups as a statistical device for approximating unknown trajectories across population members.” GBTM is a form of finite mixture modeling and does not abide by *ex-ante* and *a priori* assumptions about behaviors. As Nagin (2013) highlighted, group membership is a “convenient statistical fiction” that does not necessarily represent a state of being. People do not belong to just one behavioral trajectory group as all individuals do not behave similarly or in lock-step. As such, the distributions of behaviors should be assumed to be unknown initially, with only a finite number of behavioral groupings (or homogenous subpopulations) emerging from the data. Trajectory group membership, as a result, should be estimated through a probabilistic and posterior manner.

In Nagin’s (2005) seminal book on the topic, several motivations contributed to the technique’s creation and application. A primary critique Nagin (2005) made of

traditional growth curve modeling is that trajectories are designed to sort out factors accounting for variation using a population mean. This assumes that all individuals in the population of interest and examination follow a similar process over time; however, Nagin urges researchers to consider that there is likely no single explanation that accounts for emergent differences when comparing developmental and behavioral processes as various subgroups within the population may be more influenced by one set of predictors than another. For analyzing immigrant generational impact on offending and victimization trajectories, GBTM allows for the clustering of similar behavioral clusters as trajectories. While immigrant generations are predefined groups of individuals, their behaviors are not, and thus their effect on offending and victimization trajectories are likely to cluster differently. This is akin to taxonomic structures common in other approaches to long-term behavioral patterns (e.g., Moffitt, 1993); however, GBTM allows for certain flexibilities useful in this study. As such, the models used will contain a mixture of GBTM structures to estimate behavioral trajectories and factors influencing membership to those estimated trajectories.

Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization GBTM Data Structure and

Plan. First, I identify the specification of the models for the criminal offending and violent victimization outcome for the full sample of individuals in the Pathways to Desistance Data. Specifications for different applications of GBTM assume that “individual differences in trajectories can be summarized by a finite set of different polynomials of age or time” (Nagin, 2005, p. 25). This allows for group membership and trajectory patterns to be estimated within different distributions outside of the multivariate normal distribution—which is more characteristic of traditional growth

curve models and more continuous in nature. However, many crime-related behaviors are not continuous and thus require estimation within their appropriate distribution.

For both the criminal offending and violent victimization outcome, I will use the zero-inflated Poisson distribution to estimate trajectories of victimization (ZIP). This is done to account for the high number of zeros and over-dispersion across both measures. Here, I provide the basic model as well as the full specification to illustrate this. First, I present the basic model using the specification for the ZIP model:

$$p^j(y_{it}) = \frac{\lambda_{jt}^{y_{it}} e^{-\lambda_{jt}}}{y_{it}!} (y_{it} = 0, 1, 2, \dots)$$

With this equation, the probability for trajectory j specifies the probability of y_{it} equaling any non-negative integer or positive counts of criminal offending or violent victimization. As Nagin (2005, p. 32) provided, the probability assigned to each individual trajectory depends on the mean rate of occurrence of the behavior for all individuals in a given group j at each time t . The rate λ_{jt} refers to the number of total offending or victimizations in the time period between follow-ups or time points for all respondents belonging to group j at time t .

Second, model selection is required to determine the number of developmental trajectory groups based on criminal offending and violent victimization. The default structure for model selection is the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). As Nagin (2005) demonstrated, goodness-of-fit statistical tests (e.g., χ^2 or chi-square test) are generally inappropriate or ‘indeterminate’ since the number of trajectory groups is unknown. Thus, any added parameter that are used to help determine a trajectories shape may collapse into similar trajectory groups. Ultimately, in this case, the use of a χ^2 test would not reveal distinct trajectory groups because of how χ^2 takes into account degrees

of freedom in model parameters (see p. 63). To generate the potential number of trajectory groups, the following model is used:

$$BIC = \log(L) - 0.5k \log(N),$$

Wherein “L is the value of the model’s maximized likelihood, N is the sample size, and k is the number of parameters in the model” (p. 64). For BIC, the most optimal number of groups for the model is indicated by the highest BIC score that is closest to zero (BIC scores are always negative). Thus, the number of trajectories to be used for this analysis will be partially determined by the model with the lowest BIC score. Note that the number of groups may change depending on the information available on individuals across all waves.

Third, *posterior probabilities of group membership* are assessed to determine the model adequacy. As Nagin emphasized, this is different than the *probability of group membership*, which determines the size of the population that belongs to each estimated trajectory group. Posterior probabilities of group membership indicate the probability a given individual with a specific profile will belong to trajectory group j. These probabilities are averaged to generate a mean probability of assignment to trajectory groups:

$$P^{\wedge}(j|Y_i) = \frac{P^{\wedge}(Y_i|j)\pi^{\wedge}_j}{\sum_j P^{\wedge}(Y_i|j)\pi^{\wedge}_j},$$

The manner in which posterior probabilities of group membership point towards proper trajectory classification (e.g., four trajectory groups vs. five trajectory groups) varies by diagnostic test. Two diagnostics will be used to assess model adequacy throughout this GBTM plan. The first will use the average posterior probability of assignment, or AvePP. If the AvePP meets at least .70 for all groups in the model, it is

considered satisfactory. Another commonly used diagnostic is the odds of correct classification (OCC) (e.g., see Bersani, 2010; Nagin, 2005, p. 88). Since the AvePP is used in the OCC equation to generate its value, I adopt using the AvePP alone alongside confidence intervals for group membership probabilities to determine the appropriate trajectory group structure. Next, confidence intervals for group membership probabilities are assessed. The general rule is that when a model estimate—between zero (0) and one (1)—for a particular trajectory classification has the smallest or most narrow distance between the low and high end of the corresponding confidence interval, the point estimate is more accurate and thus so is the classification.

Fourth, I will distinguish membership to group trajectories of criminal offending through covariates. In other words, predictors of trajectory group membership will be assessed. Consistent with the focus of the study, the variable of interest that will be used to predict group membership is immigrant generation. An efficient way of doing so is to model probability of group membership by two different trajectories, or the two-group model. Doing so requires the use of the binary logit function. From a bivariate stance, this will predict the probability (via odds or relative risk ratios) of membership into one group compared to another based on immigrant generation. This study, however, will use multivariate logistic regression in order to model these using multiple factors and to control for other measures that could impact assignment to specific trajectories (e.g., table 2 in Piquero et al., 2014a). Modeling group membership with these factors does not typically change the shape of the trajectory. Since in most populations, many people tend to have higher probabilities of belonging to the lowest offending trajectory, the lowest offending trajectory is typically used as the reference point to test against.

Dual Trajectory Modeling. This study will extend the previous analysis and conduct dual trajectory modeling using offending and victimization trajectories. The purpose of dual trajectory modeling is to model two distinct but interrelated behaviors over time. This is referred to as heterotypic continuity, and under the GBTM framework, one can model trajectories of a behavior conditional on another (Nagin & Tremblay, 2001). This joint trajectory approach is suitable for the present study because of the interrelated nature between offending and victimization. Prior research using the same approach and data reveal significant overlaps between the two (Mulford et al., 2018). Using the aforementioned ZIP model for violent victimization— in addition to another ZIP model for criminal offending using the count version of this measure—both trajectory solutions will be modeled at the same time. This approach will display convergence and/or divergence across various trajectory groups and behaviors.

To assess the probability of group membership, I use the general model to allow for the linkages between trajectories of offending and victimization. That is, a given trajectory of offending can be linked to any given trajectory of victimization and vice versa (see figure 8.3, Nagin, 2005). This approach will also allow us to estimate the joint probability of offending group trajectories with victimization group trajectories at the same time. The following equation demonstrates the general model for an individual without needing to consider the exact temporal ordering of the two outcomes:

$$P(Y_1, Y_2) = \sum_k \pi_k h^k(Y_1) \sum_k \pi_{j|k} f^j(Y_2)$$

The notation $\pi_{j|k}$ refers to the conditional probability that links each trajectory group of one outcome to another. Following this, similar to the single outcome approach, I will model factor(s) to predict group membership with multinomial logistic regression.

Immigrant generation (e.g., first-generation, second-generation) will be modeled to predict group membership into a victimization trajectory given another offending trajectory, and so on (for e.g., see Testa & Semenza, 2020).

Considerations for Sample Size

An important consideration in GBTM is adequate sample size. As Loughran and Nagin (2006) highlighted, sample sizes as low as 500 provide reasonable GBTM estimations that do not stray far from true population values and demonstrate normal distributions across estimated parameters. To align with these lessons, the Pathways to Desistance study provides a high enough sample size (>1000) at the baseline to conduct GBTM using offending trajectories (Bersani et al., 2014; Piquero et al., 2014b), as well as victimization trajectories. Two principal challenges arise, however. The first challenge stems from the added parameters that are included in the model when trying to assess how factors predict group membership in single- and dual-trajectory modes of analysis. This study follows the guidance of Mulford and colleagues (2018) to maximize the number of predictors one can include in models without over specifying and estimating beyond what the data can reasonably conclude.

The second challenge comes from participant attrition across every single point of study (monthly or traditional follow-up). Useful for the current study, the Pathways to Desistance Study maintained a very high retention rate. As Schubert et al. (2004) noted, the retention rate maintained up to the 24-month time point was 93 percent. The completeness of the data is also seen in work that analyzes the same data. An example is seen in Barnes and colleagues (2017) that provided a novel way to examine relative stability across the life-course. P delta uses a within- and between-person approach at

each time point to assess the relative stability of a particular trait—in their case, impulsivity. The method is more robust with complete data, and in the analysis, they reported the Pathways to Desistance Study retained a sample size of 854 using listwise deletion strategies. This is complemented by Schubert et al.'s (2004) assessment of cumulative retention that examined the proportion of possible interviews for an individual across all time points. They reported that 81 percent of the entire sample had completed all data at the 24-month follow-up. While understandably, an analysis of a unique set of variables at all time points—including baseline, traditional, and monthly follow-up interviews—will certainly yield different levels of completeness, it remains that the Pathways to Desistance data is a suitable source to answer the research questions in this dissertation.

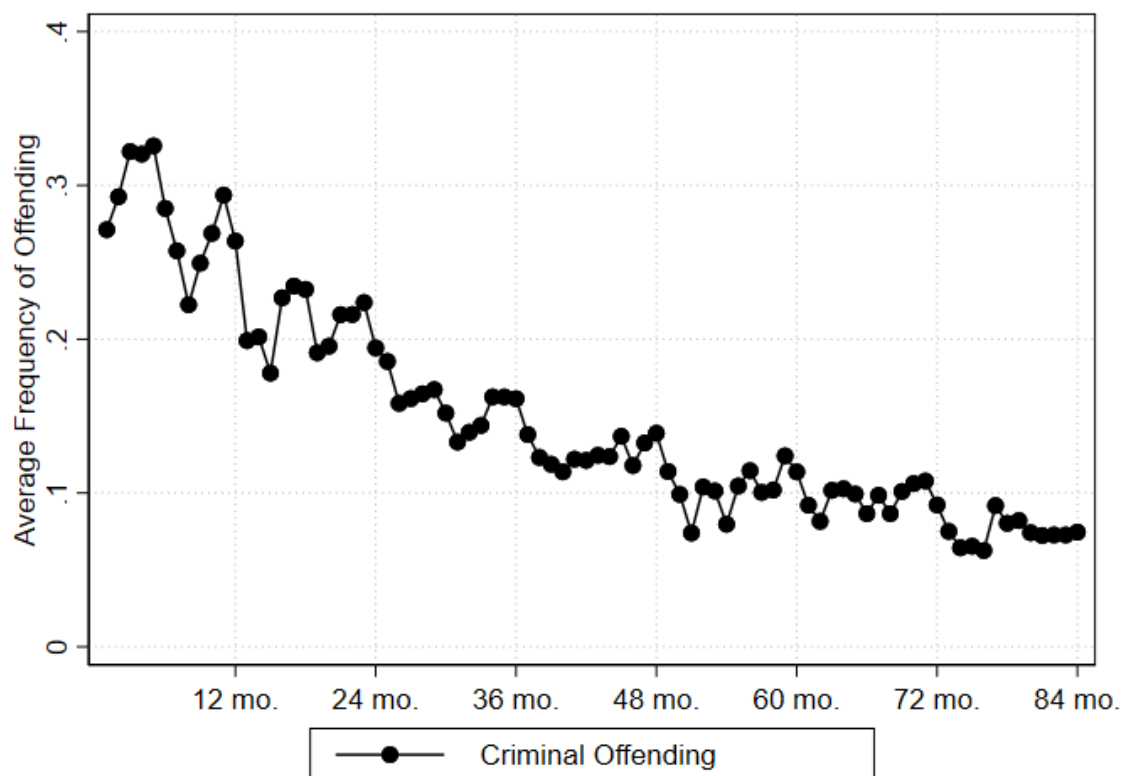
CHAPTER IV

Results

The current chapter details the impact of immigrant generation on criminal offending, violent victimization, and dual-based offending and victimization models. As such, this chapter is organized in a linear manner. The first section presents an analysis of how immigrant generation predicts criminal offending trajectories. The results in this section first demonstrate the base model. Subsequent models include stable or time-invariant risk factors, including immigrant generation, followed by a model that adds time-variant factors. Similarly, the second section highlights the impact of immigrant generation on violent victimization trajectories. To do so, I analyzed a base violent victimization model followed by a model with stable or time-invariant factors—focusing on immigrant generation. The final analysis in this specific section considers the influence of time-variant factors. Finally, the last section of this chapter presents results from dual-based or joint trajectory models that consider how immigrant generation impacts both criminal offending and victimization behaviors over time.

Immigrant Generation and Offending Trajectories

Figure 1 demonstrates the average frequency of criminal offending across the whole sample. The graph shows a negatively sloped trend that suggests criminal offending generally declines over the study period. While research analyzing criminal offending with Pathways to Desistance data tends to rely on traditional study points (e.g., 6 months, 12 months), the monthly data here demonstrated notable variation seen in-between traditionally examined periods. Moreover, the pattern of offending before the 36-month mark is mercurial showing a substantive up-and-down pattern while maintaining a distinct decline in criminal offending over time.

Figure 1*Average Frequency of Criminal Offending Across Sample****Base Model of Criminal Offending Trajectories***

In order to assess the change immigrant generation has on offending trajectories—as well as other theoretically-relevant variables outlined in earlier parts of this dissertation—a three-stage process is followed. The first stage estimates an adequate base model that demonstrates a four-group solution to the outcome of interest here. The following stage builds off the base model and incorporates stable or time-invariant factors, including immigrant generation. The third stage adds time-variant factors. These stages are followed to ensure predictors and their impact on posterior probabilities of group membership are properly estimated.

I used the zero-inflated Poisson distribution to estimate offending trajectories in this model measured in months. Initially, this was done without predictors to provide a baseline understanding of the outlined behavior. To fit the model, the average posterior group membership probabilities (AvePP_j) and confidence intervals are consulted with no risk factors included. Table 4 demonstrates model adequacy related to the offending base model.

Table 4

Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Offending with No Risk Factors

	Low	Low Stable	Mid Decreasing	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.96(.95-.96)	0.01	0.06	0.00
Low Stable	0.01	0.93(.92-.95)	0.04	0.02
Mid Decreasing	0.04	0.04	0.90(.88-.91)	0.01
High Decreasing	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.98(.96-.99)

Note. Low ($n=580$, 51.19%), Low Stable ($n=162$, 14.30%), Mid Decreasing ($n=292$, 25.77%), and High Decreasing ($n=99$, 8.74%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

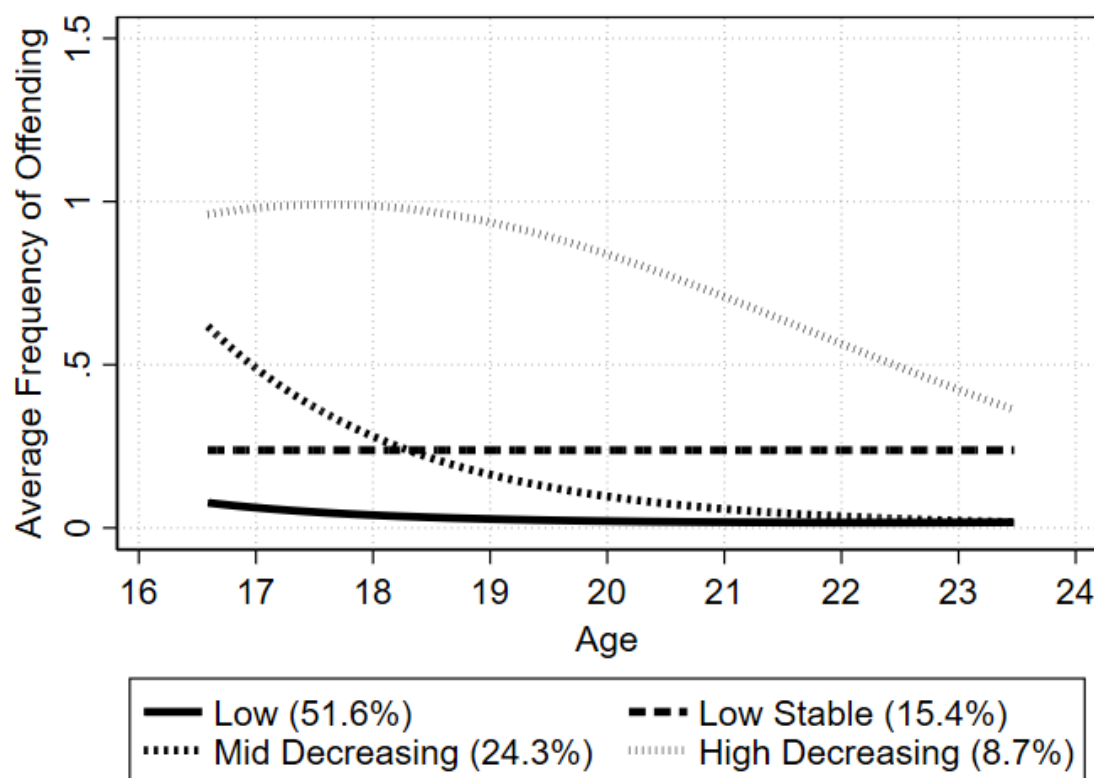
As Table 4 shows, AvePP_j values were at least above 0.70 and confidence intervals maintained a relatively narrow range (Nagin, 2005) (see appendices for model diagnostics for rest of models assessed in this chapter). These suggest that a four-group solution was adequate for these offending trajectories. Assuredly, BIC and AIC values were also consulted to arrive at this four-factor solution. These data were unique from other aspects of this dissertation and Pathways to Desistance data. The use of monthly data—which incorporated 84 months of post-baseline respondent information—provided abundant information. When this occurs, BIC and AIC values typically product better fit (closer to zero) as greater numbered solutions are considered. As a result, prior criminal offending research that has applied similar data were consulted (e.g., Piquero et al., 2013;

Mulford et al., 2018). In many of these studies, a five-group solution was optimal, however, those studies typically applied a broader offending variety score—unlike this study’s use of the more severe, aggressive variety score. Additionally, the use of monthly data for criminal offending analysis could reveal more varied offending trajectory information (e.g., 84 months vs. 10 or 11 months).

Each of the groups is described by its initial trajectory shape. As figure 2 shows, the four trajectories that emerged were low (51.19%), low stable (14.30%), mid decreasing (25.77%), and high decreasing (8.74%).

Figure 2

Criminal Offending Trajectories without Risk Factors



Next, I describe the shape of each trajectory. The low offending trajectory began slightly above zero. As age increased, the trajectory flattened with a near-zero rate

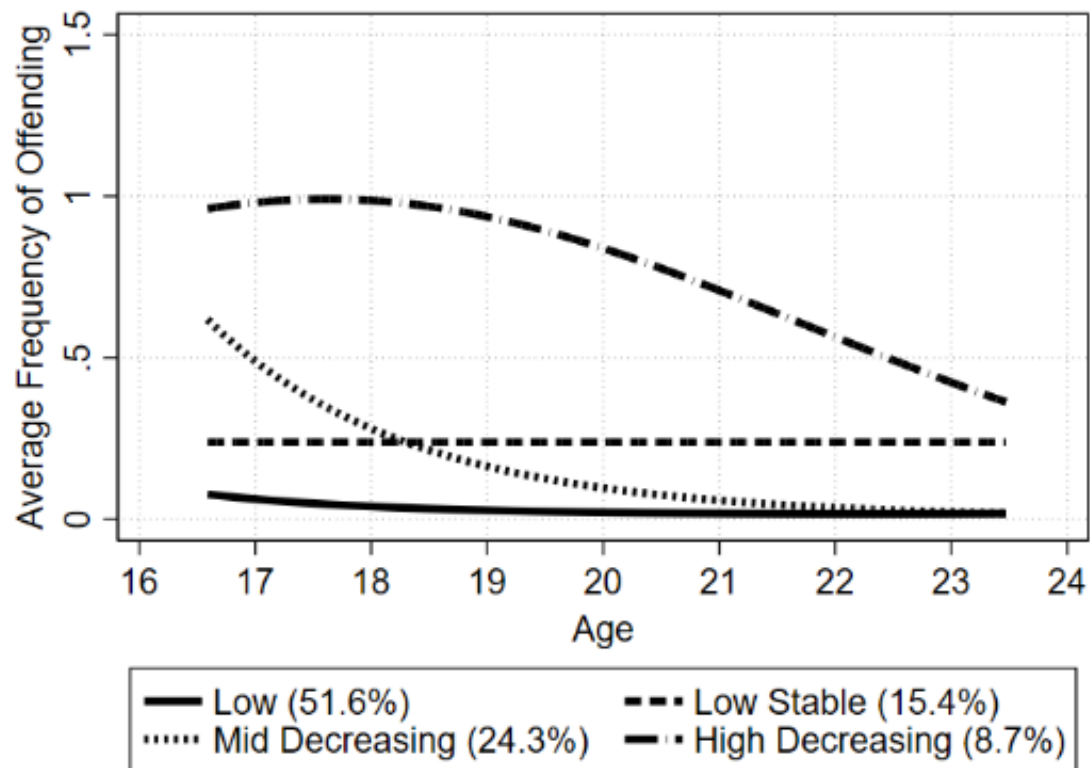
stabilization as participants entered early adulthood. The low stable group began with a relatively low degree of offending involvement in late adolescence; however, the rate of offending remained stable over time. The mid decreasing group began their post-baseline aggressive offending behaviors above an average of 0.5 acts per month, but quickly and almost immediately decreased in magnitude as time went on. The high decreasing group started the trajectory with the highest post-baseline offending involvement. Even though this group's trajectory shape aimed steadily downward—suggesting a consistent drop in offending over time—its final time point in this analysis remained high relative to other trajectories.

Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

Building upon this base model, I included time-invariant (i.e., stable) covariates to examine the extent to which criminal offending is linked to certain factors, such as immigrant generation. Similar to the base model, AvePP_j values were at least above 0.70 with narrow confidence intervals (see Appendix A).

Figure 3

Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors



Since adding risk factors to the base model did not generally change the overall shape of each trajectory, figure 3 with four covariates—immigrant generation, white, parental education, and early problem behavior—revealed a similar shape structure as the base model. As figure 3 shows, however, the addition of these time-invariant factors does appear to have a slight impact on the posterior probabilities of each group, as well as the lowered magnitude of the high decreasing trajectory.

Table 5 shows the parameter estimates of time-invariant factors on criminal offending trajectories across the sample. As it relates to immigrant generation, this study's primary covariate of interest, there was no significant impact on belonging to *any* offending trajectory group relative to the low trajectory group. More specifically,

immigrant generation did not change belonging to the low stable group ($OR=1.01$, $p=0.867$), mid decreasing group ($OR=0.92$, $p=0.327$), or the high decreasing group ($OR=0.86$, $p=0.132$), all relative to low trajectory at a minimum alpha level of .05. This effect, or lack thereof, is supported by Table 6, which shows Wald tests performed on model parameter estimates distinguished by the immigrant generation variable. These suggest no differential coefficient estimates of immigrant generation on any combination of trajectories (i.e., p -values are not equal to or lower than .05).

Table 5*Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant Factors on Trajectories of Offending (N=947)*

Variables	Low Stable vs. Low		Mid Decreasing vs. Low		High Decreasing vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	0.01(1.01)	0.09	-0.08(0.92)	0.08	-0.15(0.86)	0.10
White	0.58(1.79)*	0.25	0.53(1.70)*	0.24	0.47(1.60)	0.32
Parental Education	0.03(1.03)	0.12	0.07(1.07)	0.11	0.14(1.15)	0.14
Early Problem Behavior	0.32(1.38)**	0.09	0.42(1.52)**	0.08	0.64(1.90)**	0.11
Constant	-1.85(0.16)**	0.34	-1.38(0.25)**	0.31	-2.70(0.07)**	0.41

Note. † $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 6

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

	(2)=(3)=(4)		(2)=(3)=(4)=0		(2)=(3)		(3)=(4)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	2.01	0.37	3.01	0.39	0.84	0.36	0.45	0.50

Note. (2) = Low Stable; (3) = Mid Decreasing; (4) High Decreasing. Reference group is Low offending.

Referring to Table 5, other time-invariant factors revealed differential effects on predicting group membership. Being white positively and significantly predicted, relative to the low offending group, belonging to the low stable (OR=1.79, $p=0.02$) and mid decreasing trajectory (OR=1.70, $p=0.02$) but not the high decreasing group. While parental education did not impact membership into trajectories, more early problem behavior significantly predicted greater odds of belonging to the low stable (OR=1.38, $p=0.00$), mid decreasing (OR=1.52, $p=0.00$), and high decreasing (OR=1.90, $p=0.00$) trajectories relative to the low group.

Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

Lastly, I added time-variant factors to the model to determine if there were more theoretically relevant changes to criminal offending behaviors across the early life-course. Eight covariates were added to the model and include affirmation and belonging (affirmation), identity achievement (identity), family support, non-family support, neighborhood disorder, unsupervised routine activities (routine activities), peer antisocial behavior (antisocial peers), and exposure time. As figure 4 shows, these time-variant factors also slightly change the posterior probabilities of each group, as well as the lowered initial magnitude of the low decreasing group (formerly the mid decreasing trajectory). Similar to the base and time-invariant only model, AvePP_j values were at least above 0.70 with narrow confidence intervals (see Appendix B).

The change in the shape of the trajectory, regardless of model or outcome, is notable but not substantive for several reasons. First, the impact of covariates on the posterior probabilities of the trajectory group membership is likely to vary somewhat when the drop in sample size is considered (i.e., $N=947$ to $N=653$). While this drop is

important, the retained sample in this study typically maintain similar trajectory group properties as the base model. Second, for this specific instance, other than this low stable group—which is only renamed because of the relative initial drop in where that trajectory started (recall groups are named by how a trajectory shape begins)—other groups retain their shape and relative magnitude. Finally, and importantly, this risk factor approach assumes that “within a trajectory group change is incremental, not dramatic,” which is understandable as slight deviations should be expected in long-term average behavior when predictors are added to the model (see Nagin, p. 121).

Figure 4

Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

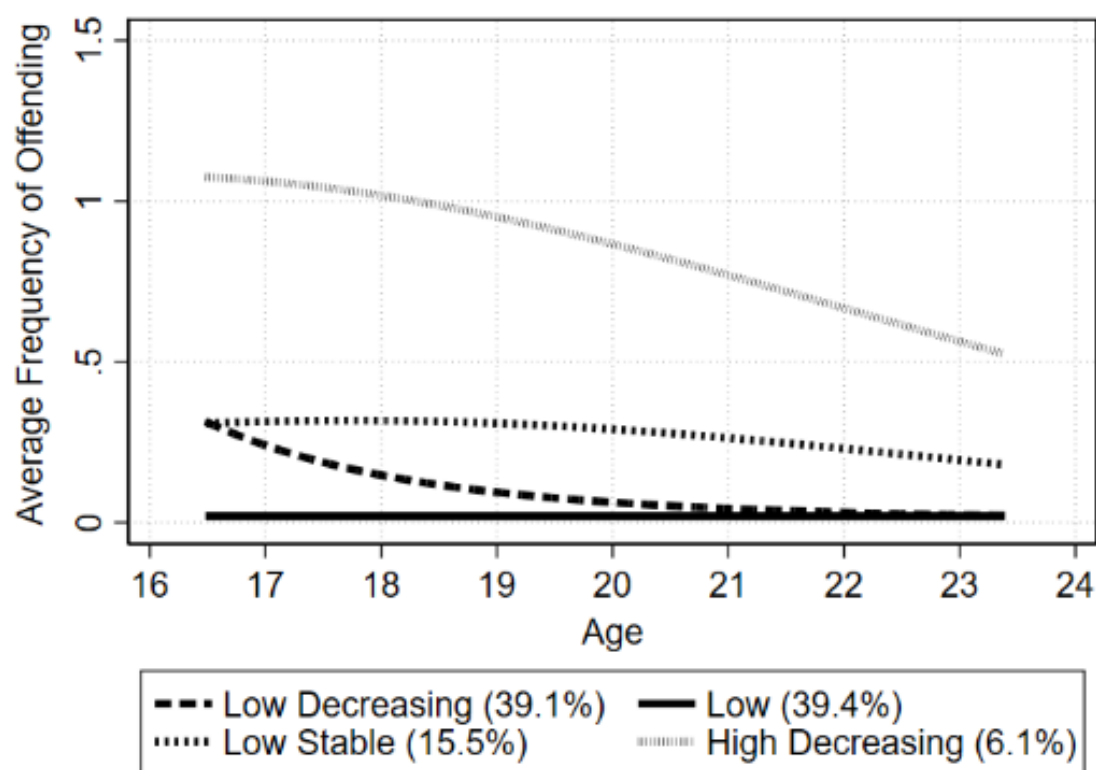


Table 7 shows the parameter estimates of time-invariant and time-invariant factors on criminal offending trajectories. Similar to the two presented models in this

section, immigrant generation did not significantly predict group membership for the majority of categories, including low decreasing and low stable, both in reference to the low offending group. Immigrant generation, however, marginally and negatively predicted membership into the high decreasing group ($OR=-0.37, p=0.08$). This suggests that belonging to a later immigrant generation (i.e., more native and further removed from immigrant statuses) decreased the odds of belonging to a high decreasing trajectory group compared to the low trajectory group. Table 8 presents Wald tests performed on these model parameter estimates. Not surprisingly, with the modest exception of the low stable trajectory set equal to the high decreasing ($\chi^2=3.08, p=0.08$), these tests did *not* provide evidence that immigrant generation distinguished any combination of offending trajectories.

Among the other associations presented in Table 7, being white (low decreasing: $OR=2.56, p=0.01$; low stable: $OR=2.53, p=0.05$; high decreasing: $OR=4.57, p=0.03$) and having more early problem behavior (low decreasing: $OR=1.55, p=0.00$; low stable: $OR=1.54, p=0.00$; high decreasing: $OR=1.80, p=0.00$) increased the odds of belonging to any of the offending trajectories relative to the low offending group. Moreover, higher parental education increased the odds of belonging to the high decreasing trajectory compared to the low group ($OR=2.34, p=0.00$). These directional relationships more or less align with the time-invariant model.

For the time-variant variables, several important relationships emerged. Greater family support had a modest, marginal effect on belonging to the high decreasing group over the low group ($OR=0.70, p=0.08$). Peer antisocial behavior was by far the most significant predictor of heightened offending patterns as having greater peer antisocial

behavior increased odds of belonging to the low decreasing ($OR=17.99, p=0.00$), low stable ($OR=60.34, p=0.00$), and high decreasing ($OR=1012.32, p=0.00$) trajectories versus the low group.⁹ Lastly, greater exposure time also decreased the odds of belonging to the low decreasing ($OR=0.22, p=0.02$) and low stable ($OR=0.80, p=0.00$) groups compared to the low offending trajectory.

Additional Analysis Using Binary Offending Measure. To verify these results using a similar but condensed measure, Appendix E through Appendix O provide additional support to the presented findings. This was done by reanalyzing the change immigrant generation had, as well as other stable and time-variant factors, on offending trajectories using a binary monthly measure of offending rather than a count measure (see Appendix AA for notational breakdown). These models applied a logit model rather than one based on the Poisson distribution but produced substantively similar results. While there were natural, slight differences in the posterior probabilities across models, a similar four-group trajectory solution was retained with satisfactory model adequacy across (i.e., $AvePP_j > 0.70$, narrow confidence intervals). This is not surprising considering this binary outcome was generated from the same count aggressive offending measure; however, some interesting results emerged in the final models that examined time-invariant and time-variant factors on trajectories of offending.

⁹ These high odds ratios are unusual and outside the range of normal, expected magnitudes; however, the reduced sample size ($N=653$) and the subsequently reduced assigned group membership counts (see Appendix A and B) may be contributing to inflated effect sizes for the high decreasing trajectory group in this model.

Table 7*Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors on Trajectories of Criminal Offending (N=653)*

Variables	Low Decreasing vs. Low		Low Stable vs. Low		High Decreasing vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	-0.07(0.93)	0.11	-0.02(0.98)	0.14	-0.37(0.69) [†]	0.21
White	0.94(2.56)*	0.37	0.93(2.53)*	0.47	1.52(4.57)*	0.69
Parental Education	0.11(1.12)	0.15	0.17(1.19)	0.19	0.85(2.34)*	0.29
Early Problem Behavior	0.44(1.55)**	0.11	0.43(1.54)**	0.14	0.59(1.80)*	0.21
Time-Variant						
Affirmation	0.64(1.90)	0.46	0.57(1.77)	0.55	-0.48(0.62)	0.81
Identity	-0.36(0.70)	0.48	-0.71(0.49)	0.58	-0.57(0.57)	0.87
Family Support	-0.15(0.86)	0.11	-0.17(0.84)	0.14	-0.36(0.70) [†]	0.20
Non-Family Support	0.20(1.22)	0.18	0.33(1.39)	0.21	0.21(1.23)	0.30
Neighborhood Disorder	-0.34(0.71)	0.24	-0.22(0.80)	0.30	-0.32(0.73)	0.45
Routine Activities	-0.19(0.83)	0.23	0.34(1.40)	0.29	0.14(1.15)	0.45
Antisocial Peers	2.89(17.99)**	0.40	4.10(60.34)**	0.48	6.92(1012.32)**	0.72
Exposure Time	-1.50(0.22)*	0.62	-2.53(0.80)**	0.75	-1.37(0.25)	1.20
Constant	-3.37(0.03)*	1.64	-7.21(0.00)**	2.10	-11.42(0.00)**	3.14

Note. [†] $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 8

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	(1)=(3)=(4)		(1)=(3)=(4)=0		(1)=(3)		(3)=(4)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	3.15	0.20	1.94	3.55	0.17	0.68	3.08	0.08

Note. (1) = Low Decreasing; (3) = Low Stable; (4) High Decreasing. Reference group is Low offending.

The binary offending set of models produced similar substantive findings compared to those presented in table 5; however, the marginal effect became non-significant when examining the effect of immigrant generation on the high decreasing trajectory relative to the low group. When examining the binary offending results to those from table 7 that added time-variant factors, a few associations differed. While not significant in the count offending model, the binary offending model showed greater exposure time only decreased the odds of belonging to the low stable (OR=0.14, $p=0.01$) compared to the low group. In the binary offending model, lower identity achievement increased the odds of belonging to the high decreasing offending trajectory compared to the low offending trajectory (OR=0.21, $p=0.04$). Reduced family support also predicted the odds of belonging to the high decreasing offending trajectory (OR=0.61, $p=0.01$).

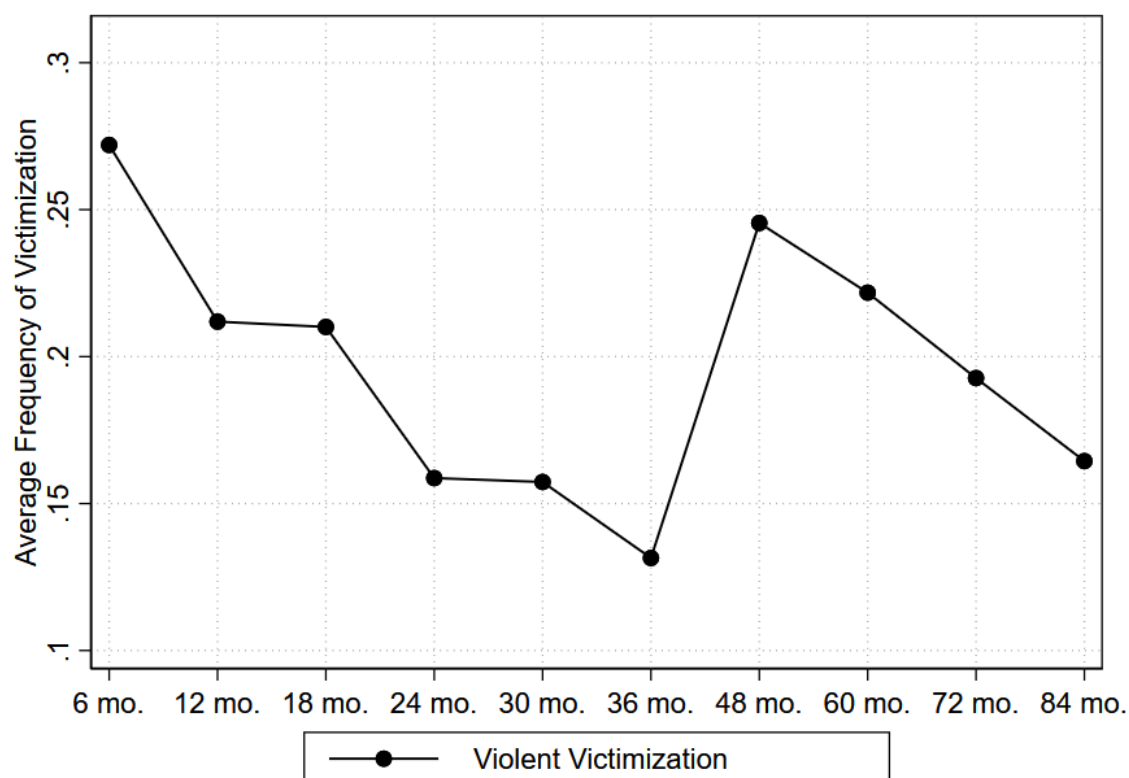
Immigrant Generations and Violent Victimization Trajectories

Figure 5 depicts the frequency of violent victimization across the sample. At 6-months post-baseline, average violent victimization is highest across the examined periods. A precipitous decline is seen until the 36-month mark, at which point the time intervals change from six to twelve months between waves. Following this point, there is a substantial incline until 48-months when we see a stable decline in violent victimization. While not as steady of a decline as criminal offending, violent victimization generally sees—with the notable exception from months 36 to 48—a general trend towards decreased values. How this scale changes does not appear to impact the presented models in this section, only in how they present descriptively. Since the Pathways to Desistance data changed collection intervals from six months to twelve months after the 36-month follow-up, this drastic increase from months 36 to 48 is

noteworthy but may be an artifact of this interval change and how the values ‘double-up’ relative to prior months. Subsequent group-based trajectory analysis does not appear to be sensitive to this specific change and present a natural decline or stable trend across groups.

Figure 5

Frequency of Violent Victimization Across Sample



Base Model of Violent Victimization Trajectories

Similar to the base model of criminal offending trajectories provided in the prior section, a three-stage process is followed to understand the impact of immigrant generation on violent victimization trajectories. First, a base model is fitted and estimated to understand the outcome over time without added covariates. Second, time-invariant

factors, with an emphasis on immigrant generation, are included in model estimations. Lastly, time-variant factors are added.

Considering the count nature of the violent victimization measure, a zero-inflated Poisson distribution was used to generate a trajectory model solution using traditional Pathways to Desistance measurement points (6, 12, 18, 24, 36, 48, 60, 72, 84 post-baseline months). Table 9 shows the AvePPj and confidence intervals, both of which are within satisfactory parameters.

Table 9

Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePPj) for Victimization with No Risk Factors

	Low	Mid Decreasing	Low Increasing	High
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.84(.83-.85)	0.09	0.10	0.00
Mid Decreasing	0.09	0.71(.68-.74)	0.11	0.07
Low Increasing	0.07	0.14	0.73(.71-.76)	0.12
High	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.81(.76-.85)

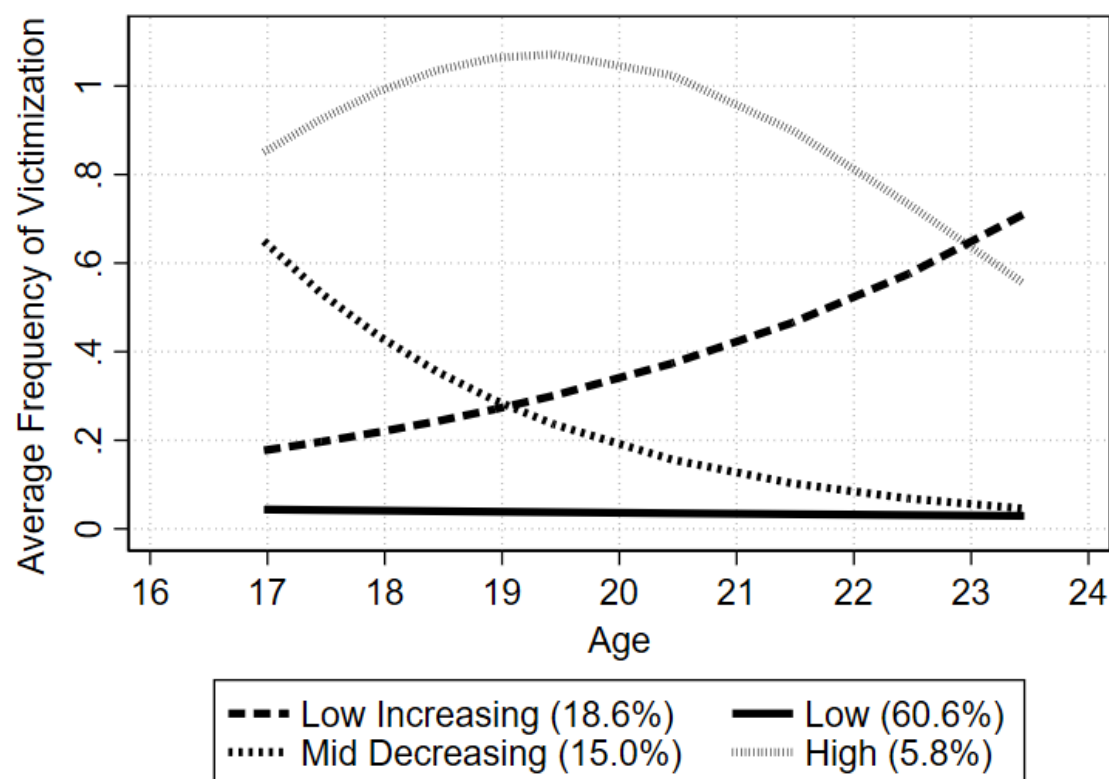
Note. Low ($n=686$, 60.55%), Mid Decreasing ($n=170$, 15.00%), Low Increasing ($n=211$, 18.62%), and High ($n=66$, 5.83%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses

Since a four-group solution was retained, four trajectories emerged from the data. As Figure 6 shows, the trajectory with the highest probability of group membership was low (60.6%), followed by low increasing (18.6%), mid decreasing (15.0%), and high violent victimization (5.8%). The low victimization trajectory maintained an average flat rate close to a near zero victimization. The trajectory began right below 0.2 counts of violent victimization for the low increasing group, with a notable increase throughout the study period. The mid decreasing group started around 0.6 and sees a continuous decline—eventually converging with the low trajectory in the tail end of early adulthood. Lastly, the high trajectory began at the highest starting point across groups and followed

a relatively high, curvilinear shape eventually intersecting with the mid decreasing trajectory near the end of the examined period.

Figure 6

Violent Victimization Trajectories with No Risk Factors



Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

Building on the base model, time-invariant covariates are added to the specification of the violent victimization trajectories (for model fit, see Appendix C). Figure 7 shows the violent victimization model with immigrant generation, white, parental education, and early problem behavior added. Unsurprisingly, across the four trajectories, there was little change to the shape or magnitude with these factors.

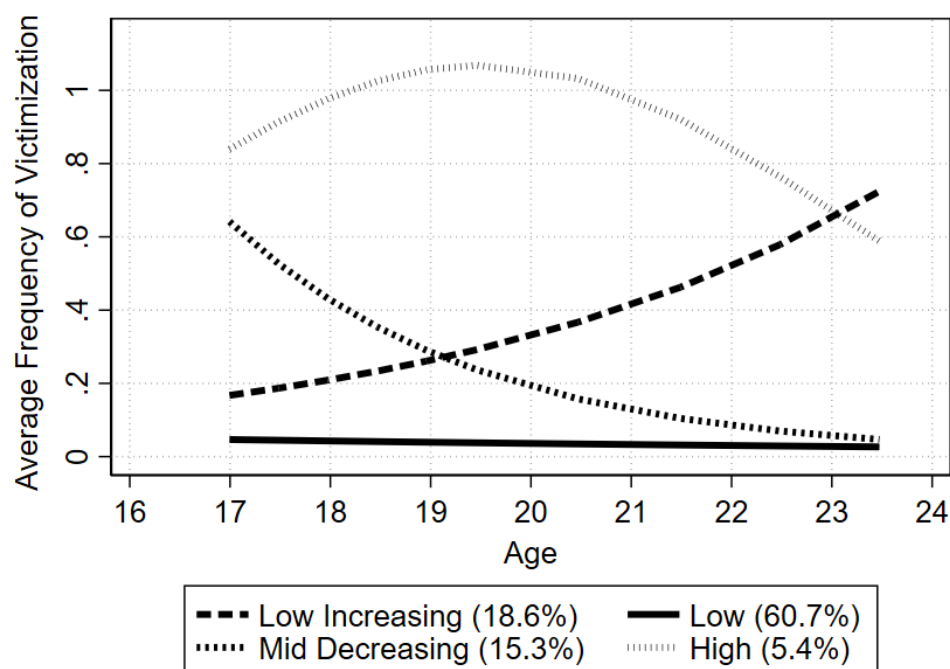
Figure 7*Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors*

Table 10 presents the parameter estimates of the four time-invariant factors on violent victimization trajectories. While immigrant generation did not significantly impact the odds of belonging to either the low increasing or high violent victimization groups relative to the low group, there was one significant association. Immigrant generation positively predicted membership to the mid decreasing trajectory but not necessarily in the expected direction. For each later immigrant generation (e.g., second-generation to 2.5-generation), the odds of belonging to the mid decreasing trajectory compared to the low category decreased ($OR=0.74, p=0.00$).¹⁰ Table 11 indicated, to

¹⁰ Based on the recommendation of Osborne (2008), I refrain from providing a directional interpretation with a specific magnitude for important study outcomes. The odds ratios provided in tables throughout this dissertation are derived from Euler's number exponentiated by the log odds coefficient provided by *traj* results in Stata 16. Since interpret my study results as odds ratios to indicate a directional relationship—and given that odds ratios less than 1.0 have different mathematical (i.e., non-linear) relationship than odds ratios above 1.0—I simply noted a directional change in the odds.

some degree, the more than modest impact of immigrant generation. When estimating all higher violent victimization trajectory models compared to low victimization, immigrant generation had a marginal difference on the coefficient estimates across trajectory groups ($\chi^2=4.65, p=0.10$). Moreover, comparing the mid decreasing trajectory to the high trajectory, relative to the low victimization group, there was a significant difference in immigrant generation effects ($\chi^2=0.37, p=0.03$). The results from Table 10 provide other important findings. Being white increased the odds of belonging to the mid decreasing trajectory over the low (OR=3.33, $p=0.00$). Additionally, early problem behavior marginally influenced membership to the low increasing (OR=1.22, $p=0.06$), and significantly predicted membership to the mid decreasing (OR=1.30, $p=0.02$) and high (OR=1.70, $p=0.00$) trajectories over the low.

Table 10*Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant Factors on Trajectories of Violent Victimization (N=947)*

Variables	Low Increasing vs. Low		Mid Decreasing vs. Low		High vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	-0.02(0.98)	0.10	-0.31(0.74)**	0.10	-0.16(0.85)	0.14
White	-0.04(0.96)	0.35	1.20(3.33)**	0.34	0.33(1.38)	0.43
Parental Education	0.05(1.05)	0.14	-0.13(0.88)	0.16	0.10(1.10)	0.19
Early Problem Behavior	0.20(1.22) [†]	0.11	0.27(1.30)*	0.12	0.53(1.70)**	0.14
Constant	-1.25(0.29)**	0.40	-0.66(0.51) [†]	0.38	-2.79(0.06)**	0.62

Note. [†] $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 11

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Violent Victimization

Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

	(1)=(3)=(4)		(1)=(3)=(4)=0		(3)=(4)		(1)=(4)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	4.65	0.10	9.29	0.80	0.37	0.03	0.71	0.40

Note. (1) = Low Increasing; (3) = Mid Decreasing; (4) High. Reference group is Low victimization.

Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

Finally, time-invariant factors were added to the model to assess and control for variables that have reliably demonstrated their impact on violent victimization (and criminal offending) behaviors examined in longitudinal and immigrant contexts. Like the criminal offending set of trajectory models, eight covariates were added to the model—affirmation and belonging (affirmation), identity achievement (identity), family support, non-family support, neighborhood disorder, unsupervised routine activities (routine activities), peer antisocial behavior (antisocial peers), and exposure time. Figure 8 presents the resulting trajectories and shows some interesting changes to the model. There are prominent changes not only to the membership probabilities but to trajectory shapes (for model fit see Appendix D). A smaller percentage of the sample belonged to the low trajectory, relative to the prior time-invariant only model, which saw a higher percentage belonging to the other trajectory groups. Furthermore, the high trajectory category appeared to fit an average rate of violent victimization over time that resembles more of a flat line than a clear curvilinear shape.

Figure 8

Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

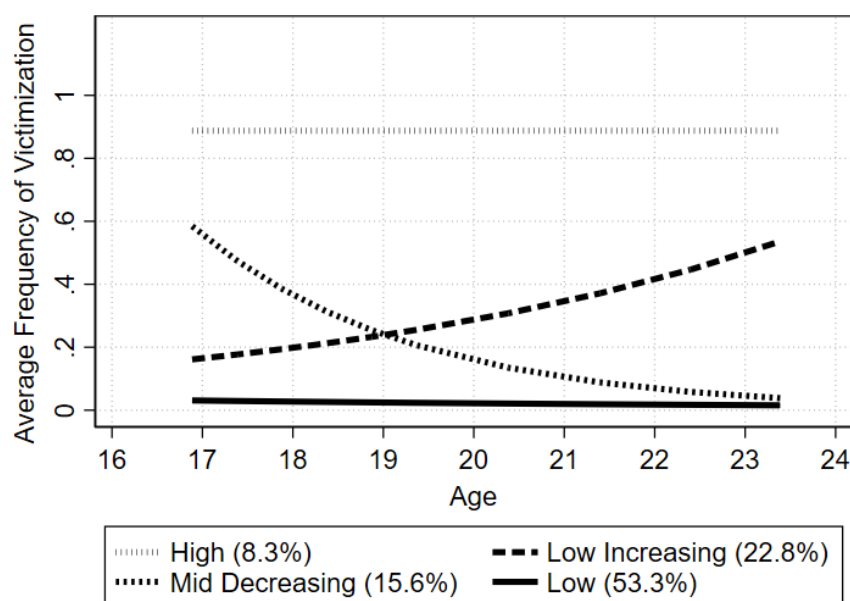


Table 12 presents findings from the group-based trajectory models that include both time-invariant and time-variant covariates. For this study's primary covariate of interest, the association between immigrant generation and group membership to certain trajectories was salient in two places. Immigrant generation had a negative, marginal association on membership to the mid decreasing trajectory compared to the low trajectory ($OR=0.72, p=0.05$). Similarly, immigrant generation had a negative and significant association on membership to the high trajectory compared to the low trajectory ($OR=0.62, p=0.02$). In either case, this extends the unexpected findings from the time-invariant only model. For each later immigrant generation (e.g., first-generation vs. second-generation), the odds of belonging to either of these higher violent victimization trajectories (compared to low) decreased. Table 13 shows that even though

immigrant generation is influential within trajectory comparisons, this factor modestly distinguishes all violent victimization trajectories ($\chi^2=7.02, p=0.07$).

Table 12 provides evidence that other factors play prominent roles in trajectory memberships. Among the time-invariant factors, parental education ($OR=1.59, p=0.09$) and early problem behavior ($OR=1.41, p=0.08$) were marginally and positively associated with higher odds of belonging to the high trajectory relative to the low. For time-invariant factors, several findings emerged. Greater family support decreased the odds of belonging to the high violent victimization trajectory over the low ($OR=0.64, p=0.02$). Engaging in more unsupervised routine activities increased the odds of belonging to the low increasing ($OR=1.93, p=0.03$) and high ($OR=3.15, p=0.02$) violent victimization trajectories relative to the low group. Lastly, the more antisocial activity respondents' peers engaged in, the higher the odds of belonging to the low increasing ($OR=8.09, p=0.00$), mid decreasing ($OR=24.97, p=0.00$), and high trajectory ($OR=77.69, p=0.00$) in relation to the low trajectory.

Table 12*Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors on Trajectories of Violent Victimization (N=653)*

Variables	Low Increasing vs. Low		Mid Decreasing vs. Low		High vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	-0.06(0.94)	0.15	-0.33(0.72)†	0.17	-0.47(0.62)*	0.20
White	-0.21(0.81)	0.56	1.46(4.32)*	0.59	0.03(1.03)	0.72
Parental Education	-0.07(0.94)	0.20	0.02(1.02)	0.25	0.46(1.59)†	0.28
Early Problem Behavior	0.07(1.07)	0.15	0.23(1.26)	0.18	0.34(1.41)†	0.20
Time-Variant						
Affirmation	-0.07(0.93)	0.60	0.88(2.42)	0.67	-0.55(0.58)	0.75
Identity	0.02(1.02)	0.56	-0.54(0.58)	0.67	-1.33(0.26)	0.86
Family Support	0.08(1.09)	0.15	-0.20(0.82)	0.17	-0.45(0.64)*	0.20
Non-Family Support	0.33(1.39)	0.21	-0.07(0.94)	0.27	0.03(1.03)	0.27
Neighborhood Disorder	0.18(1.20)	0.29	-0.03(0.97)	0.37	0.52(1.68)	0.44
Routine Activities	0.66(1.93)*	0.31	0.11(1.01)	0.37	1.15(3.15)*	0.48
Antisocial Peers	2.09(8.09)**	0.46	3.22(24.97)**	0.57	4.35(77.69)**	0.69
Exposure Time	-1.37(0.25)	0.79	-0.04(0.96)	0.99	0.86(2.36)	1.25
Constant	-6.04(0.00)**	2.23	-7.00(0.00)**	2.54	-8.73(0.00)**	3.08

Note. † $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

Table 13

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Violent Victimization

Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	(1)=(2)=(3)		(1)=(2)=(3)=0		(2)=(3)		(1)=(3)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	3.74	0.15	7.02	0.07	1.90	0.17	0.44	0.51

Note. (1) = High; (2) Low Increasing; (3) = Mid Decreasing. Reference group is Low victimization.

Additional Analysis Using Binary Violent Victimization Measure. Further analysis was conducted to examine the veracity of these findings using a binary violent victimization measure (see Appendix P through Appendix Z). Similar to the criminal offending section of this dissertation, these models were re-analyzed in the same linear fashion beginning with the base model and adding time-invariant/variant factors in later stages. Departing from the four-group solution, the binary violent victimization trajectories model retained a three-group solution. However, this set of binary models suffered issues related to convergence, likely due to the limited variation typical of a dichotomizing an already limited count variable. This issue was salient throughout, even producing unexpected statistical barriers in model specification in later parts of the analysis—such as the model failing to converge with all of the discussed time-variant factors (resulting in the omission of neighborhood disorder in that particular model, see Appendix Y). Regardless of these issues, the bulk of the directional relationships remained similar to what was reported in this section.

Analyzing Immigrant Generations on Dual Offending and Victimization Trajectories

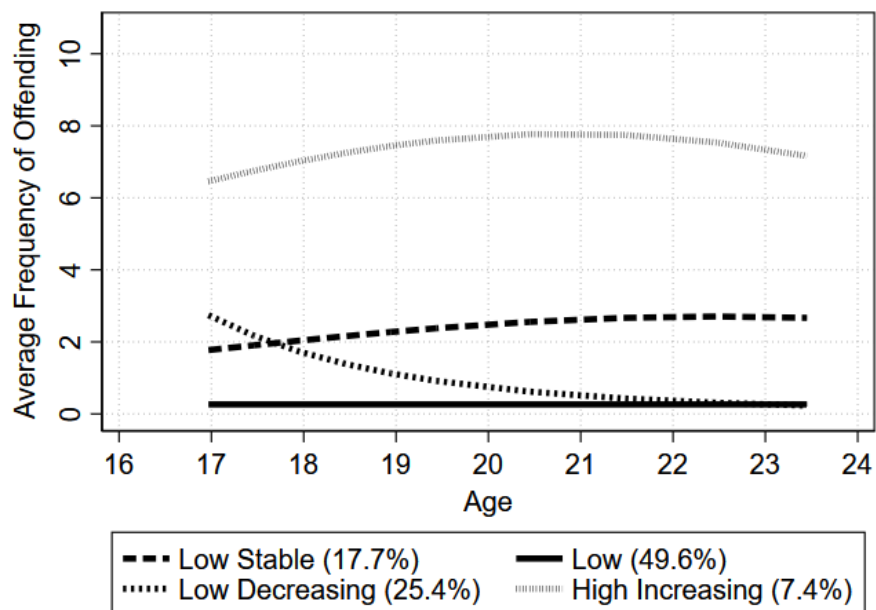
Building off the presented criminal offending and violent victimization trajectory results presented in this chapter, this section presents findings from a dual or joint trajectory analysis of both outcomes. Unlike the prior sections, only a two-stage process is followed due to data constraints and complex model parameters. First, a base model with criminal offending and violent victimization is jointly estimated. This allows us to analyze the “dynamic dimensions of the overlap” between these two behaviors, as well as understand their linkages over time (Nagin, p. 146). Second, the same model with an

added covariate to the specification—immigrant generation—is estimated to understand if and to what degree, if any, this factor has on the joint trajectory of study outcomes.

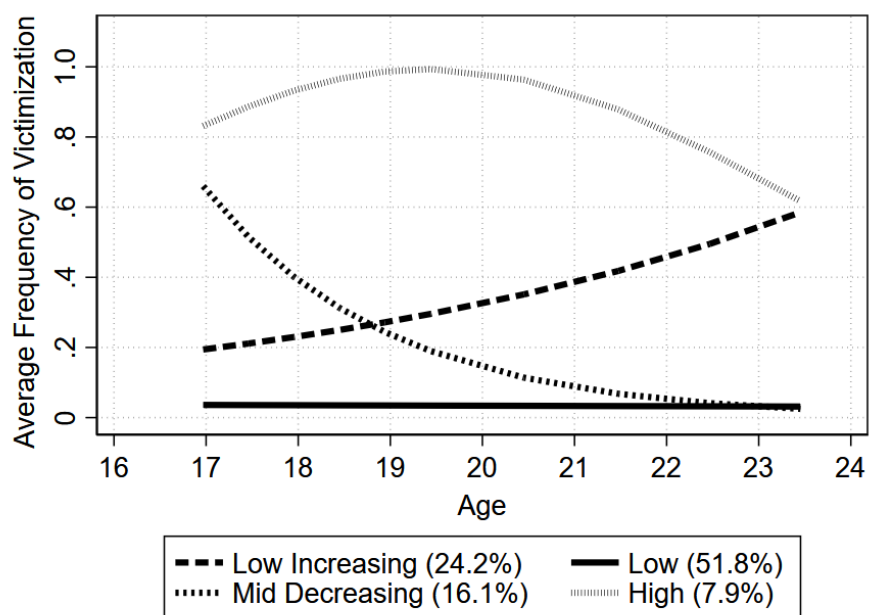
Figure 9

Joint Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization Trajectories

Model 1



Model 2



Base Model of Dual Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization Trajectories

The base estimate of this joint trajectory is presented in Figure 9. Model 1 from this figure shows criminal offending trajectories estimated jointly with the violent victimization trajectory set. Compared to Figure 2, which examined trajectories of offending without risk factors, Figure 9 retains similar properties in some respects but not others. The same four-trajectory solution remained intact; however, some trajectory magnitudes and shapes varied slightly. Notably, the ‘high’ trajectory group changed from a decreasing trajectory to one that increased over the period of observation, with a minor decrease trend around age 22. Moreover, differences across trajectory group membership percentages—even those as little as two percent—signal important influences from violent victimization behaviors across the model.

Model 2 shows violent victimization trajectories estimated jointly with the criminal offending trajectory set. While the high violent victimization trajectory did not intersect with others, representing a slight departure from Figure 6 that shows it crossing with the low increasing group, Model 2 from Figure 9 differed more substantially. As such, there was a difference of about two to nine percent in group membership percentages across various trajectories. This would largely suggest an important connection between violent victimization trajectories and criminal offending trajectories.

Table 14 presents results from the joint probability estimation of these outcomes. Overall, this panel demonstrates that there was discernable heterogeneity in probabilities of membership across behavioral outcomes. The largest interrelationship is seen in individuals belonging to the low violent victimization category—the trajectory with near zero victimization over the observed study period—who had a 39.0 percent probability of

also belonging to the low criminal offending trajectory. For the same low victimization category, this was followed by the low offending (9.6%), low stable (3.2%), and high increasing (0.0%). Among those belonging to the low increasing violent victimization trajectory, Pathways to Desistance youth had a 10.4 percent probability of also belonging to the low stable criminal offending trajectory, 9.0 percent for low, 2.5 percent for low decreasing, and 2.3 percent for the high increasing group.

For Pathways to Desistance participants belonging to the mid decreasing violent victimization trajectory, the criminal offending trajectory they had the highest probability of jointly belonging to was low decreasing (12.8%), followed by low (1.2%) and high (1.2%), and low stable group (1.0%). Lastly, for those belonging to the high violent victimization group, the criminal offending trajectory with the highest probability of membership was high increasing (3.9%), proceeded by mid decreasing (3.2%), low decreasing (0.6%), and low (0.2%).

Table 14*Joint Probability of Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization Trajectories (N=1123)*

Violent Victimization (<i>k</i>)	Low Increasing	Low	Mid Decreasing	High
Criminal Offending (<i>j</i>)				
Low Stable	10.4%	3.2%	1.0%	3.2%
Low	9.0%	39.0%	1.2%	0.2%
Low Decreasing	2.5%	9.6%	12.8%	0.6%
High Increasing	2.3%	0.0%	1.2%	3.9%

Note. *j* refers to model 1 in series; *k* refers to model 2 in series; *k* is conditional on *j*.

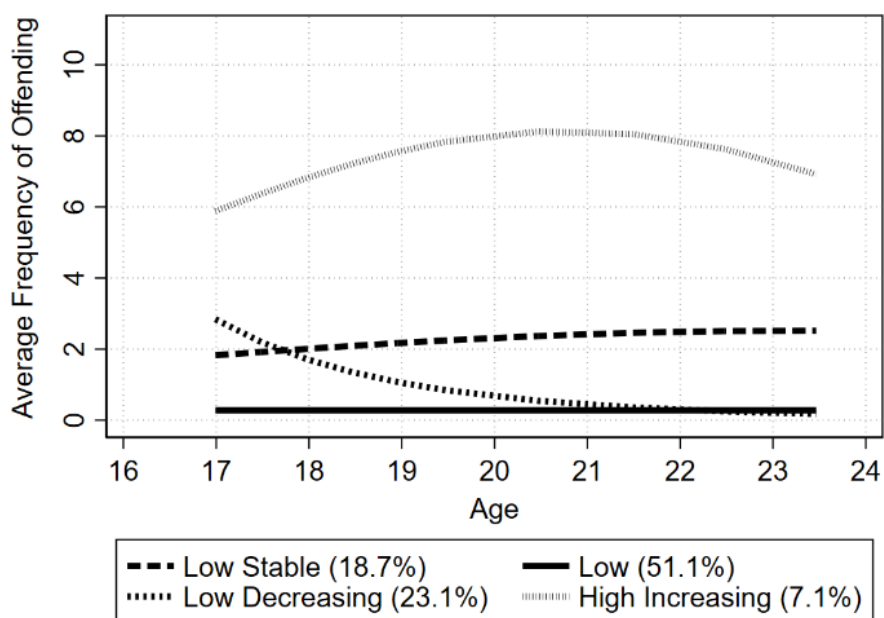
Dual Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization Trajectories with Immigrant Victimization

While the base model presented in the prior section illustrates the joint relationship between criminal offending and violent victimization trajectories, this model can be generalized to understand how specific covariates or factors link and inform trajectories across outcomes. A viable way of using the immigrant generation variable is to examine its association with the transition to a violent victimization trajectory given an offending trajectory. Before presenting these results, Figure 10 shows the impact of immigrant generation on these joint trajectories. Compared to the base joint model(s), Model 1 and Model 2 are left largely unchanged in terms of trajectory magnitude, shape, and group membership percentages.

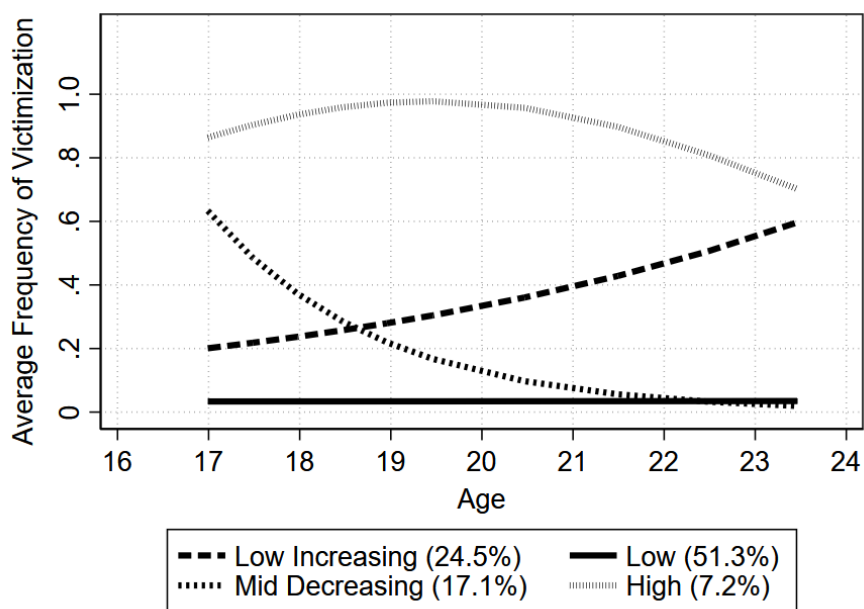
Figure 10

Joint Criminal Offending and Violent Victimization Trajectories with Immigrant Generation

Model 1



Model 2



Turning to parameter estimates, Table 15 presents results showing the impact of immigrant generation on the transition to violent victimization trajectory conditional on a given offending trajectory. For all three multivariate comparisons, immigrant generation influence did not fare well. Relative to the low increasing violent victimization group, immigrant generation did not significantly predict membership to the low violent (OR=1.03, p -value = 0.74), mid decreasing (OR=0.84, p -value=0.26), or high victimization trajectory (OR=0.84, p -value = 0.31). In other words, controlling for any given offending trajectory, immigrant generation did not predict membership into *any* violent victimization trajectory.

Table 15

Parameter Estimates of Transition to Violent Victimization Trajectory Given Offending Trajectory (N=962)

Variables	Estimate(OR)	p-value
Low ($k=2$)		
Immigrant Generation	0.03(1.03)	0.74
$\gamma_{2 1}$ (low stable)	-1.19(0.30)	0.01
$\gamma_{2 2}$ (low)	1.35(3.86)	0.00
$\gamma_{2 3}$ (low decreasing)	1.32(3.74)	0.03
$\gamma_{2 4}$ (high decreasing)	-16.17(0.00)	0.98
Mid Decreasing ($k=3$)		
Immigrant Generation	-0.17(0.84)	0.26
$\gamma_{3 1}$	-1.62(0.20)	0.08
$\gamma_{3 2}$	-1.36(0.26)	0.08
$\gamma_{3 3}$	2.45(11.59)	0.00
$\gamma_{3 4}$	-0.27(0.76)	0.75
High ($k=4$)		
Immigrant Generation	-0.17(0.84)	0.31
$\gamma_{4 1}$	-0.82(0.44)	0.18
$\gamma_{4 2}$	-12.61(0.00)	0.92
$\gamma_{4 3}$	-1.25(0.29)	0.26
$\gamma_{4 4}$	1.14(3.13)	0.09

Note. Low increasing violent victimization trajectory is the reference group.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusion

Research into individual-level criminal offending and violent victimization remains lynchpins in contemporary criminal justice and criminological research; however, only recently has scholarship begun to extend these inquiries with immigrant-oriented focuses and frameworks in mind. Prior studies generally analyzed immigrant generational frameworks with the express aim to understand differences in criminal offending and/or victimization across (and in some cases within) immigrant generational groups. As it stands currently, several consistent findings have emerged from immigrant-related criminological studies.

The bulk of peer-reviewed, immigrant-focused research examining individual-level criminal offending outcomes tells a very clear story; studies suggest that first-generation immigrants are less likely to engage in offending behaviors. This extends to both cross-sectional and panel research, evinced heavily in longitudinal studies (Bankston III & Zhou, 1997; Bersani, 2014a, 2014b; Bersani et al., 2014; Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Bersani & Piquero, 2017; Bersani et al., 2018; Bersani & Pittman, 2019; Bui, 2009; Bui & Thongniramol, 2005; Craig et al., 2020; DiPietro & Cwick, 2014; DiPietro & McGloin, 2012; DiPietro et al., 2015; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Jennings et al., 2013; Jennings et al., 2016; Jiang & Peguero, 2017; Knight et al., 2012; Lopez & Miller, 2011; McCann et al., 2021; Neilsen & Martínez, 2011; Orrick et al., 2021; Piquero et al., 2014a; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Rumbaut, 2005; Sampson, 2008; Sampson et al., 2005; Titzmann et al., 2008; Vaughn et al., 2014a; Vaughn et al., 2014b; Vaughn et al., 2015; Vaughn & Salas-Wright, 2018; Wolff et al., 2018). As such, many of these studies find an ‘intergenerational severity gradient,’ which hypothesizes that as one moves from

one generation to the next (e.g., second-generation to third-generation), the likelihood of offending increases. Most of these studies tend to rely on individuals from a variety of backgrounds, like those from justice-involved populations or nationally representative samples. Moreover, most scholarship in this area gravitates towards using broad operationalizations of offending, like variety-based measures or measures that capture both serious and less-than-serious offending together.

A similar directional trend and intergenerational gradient are seen in the violent victimization research. The literature has found that first-generation immigrants are less likely than later generations to be victims or be frequent victims of violent crime (Antunes & Ahlin, 2021; Biafora & Warheit, 2007; Bucher et al., 2010; Fussell, 2011; Hong et al., 2014; Koo et al. 2012a, 2012b; Luo & Bouffard, 2016; MacDonald & Saunders, 2012; Peguero, 2008, 2009, 2013; Peguero et al., 2021a; Sabina et al., 2013; Yang et al., 2021; Zavala & Peguero, 2017). This research, unlike its criminal offending counterpart, has more so focused on school-based populations and nationally representative samples. Lastly, the victimization outcomes examined generally revolve around exposure to violence or severe violent victimization.

This emergent immigrant paradox also persists for studies involving both offending and victimization. Depending on the outcome examined (offending or victimization), earlier immigrant generations tend to fare better and engage in or experience less harmful behaviors than later generations (Eggers & Jennings, 2014; Gibson & Miller, 2010; Lopez & Miller, 2021; Mammadov et al., 2020; Miller, 2012; Peguero & Jiang, 2014; Peguero et al., 2021a; Wong, 2017; Yang et al., 2021). From this research, even though it is clear that offending and victimization are connected, and

immigrant generation conditions this to a certain degree, it remains very much *prima facie* and needs further investigation (Gibson & Miller, 2010).

The current study builds from this research base and takes inspiration from their theoretical and substantive findings. As such, this dissertation adopts a few unique approaches. While prior research has used Pathways to Desistance data to examine immigrant generational differences in offending, I expand upon these focuses in several important ways. In addition to analyzing violent victimization and the joint nature of offending and victimization trajectories, my use of an additional two generations allowed for a more nuanced and direct examination into the linear relationship between immigrant generation and these behavioral outcomes. Moreover, considering the important, and often mediating, nature of major theoretical frames to the immigrant offending and victimization relationship (e.g., acculturation factors, antisocial peers), this study contributed findings with key measures that helped inform immigrant generation effects in a temporal fashion with a justice-involved sample.

Immigrant Generation, Criminal Offending, and Related Covariates

Research Question 1 aimed to answer whether immigrant generation predicted different patterns of criminal offending. Results from the study did not find evidence to support my first hypothesis, which stated later generational status would impact membership to higher violent victimization trajectories. As Tables 5-8 and Figures 3-4 suggest, only one modest effect is seen in the full model incorporating time-invariant and time-variant factors. While Table 5 showed a null relationship, Table 7 only showed a marginally significant, positive relationship between immigrant generational status and the high decreasing aggressive criminal offending trajectory compared to the low.

Furthermore, Wald tests from Tables 6 and 8 show little to support that immigrant generational status distinguished trajectories in significant ways. These findings are interesting to the extent that they counter the bulk of available evidence demonstrating a clear connection between early immigrant generations on lower criminal offending involvement. Not only are the effects here non-significant, in the aforementioned instance, but the relationship also presents modest evidence that early immigrant status acts as a risk factor predicting belonging to that model's highest offending trajectory.

I present a multilayered explanation for these findings, or rather lack thereof. Recall that this analysis was based on Calendar data where at each point in time, individuals were asked about their antisocial behavior. This study focused on the sum of aggressive offending frequency whereby every month while enrolled in the study period, participants were asked whether or not they had engaged in a specific aggressive offending activity (e.g., destroyed/damaged property, shot someone with a bullet that hit, been in a fight) summed across the eleven items per monthly period. First, operationally, this extensive measurement produced a series of analyses that showed considerable variation in aggressive criminal offending across sample members from month-to-month (see Figure 1). Semi-parametric, group-based approaches tend to produce more efficient results with more temporal information so what is being found in these models provides reasonable support that immigrant generations had little effect on predicting long-term patterns of offending in this specific context.

Second, perhaps this use of the monthly Calendar data in tandem with the focus on aggressive criminal offending colors these results. Prior studies examining immigrant generational effects on criminal offending have historically used broad measures that

captured multiple dimensions of offending—something akin to a variety measure. As it relates to Pathways to Desistance data specifically, this is usually not an issue as researchers have found that self-report offending and criminal histories tend to converge across immigrant generations (see Bersani & Piquero, 2017). But what has transpired in this dissertation may provide preliminary trends that more severe forms of antisocial behavior warrant further investigation in immigrant-centered and immigrant-adjacent contexts. In other words, the strength of the immigrant paradox so often found at various points in the research may be conditioned by the type of criminal offending and magnitude. This is especially salient considering that the Pathways to Desistance study contains youth with previous interactions with the criminal justice system, a potential turning point that may disparately and negatively affect those of different immigrant-related backgrounds.

Other important relationships are observed in the results. Referring primarily to the findings shown in Table 7, some time-invariant factors are influential in the model. While having higher parental education predicted membership to the high decreasing trajectory compared to the low, being white and greater early problem behavior predicted membership to all three non-low criminal offending groups. Among these, greater problem behavior operates in a theoretically consistent direction as early problem behavior has been shown to greatly influence more illustrious criminal histories (Piquero et al., 2003). The other two findings require some unpacking. Considering where system contact occurred at such an influential point in the early life-course, perhaps these findings speak more to the justice-involved nature of the sample. Mulvey and Schubert (2012) explicated that at least forty percent of the initial sample came from homes where

the highest level of parent education was high school, mostly from disadvantaged areas. A look back at Table 2 would suggest something similar. With a mean of 1.697 at baseline, the average combined parent education was between some high school and having a high school diploma. With this in mind, even though higher parent education predicted membership to a higher criminal offending trajectory, the results in this context may be overly sensitive to differences in parental education.

The race-related finding may speak to broader contextual effects of study site locations. Of the six sites considered for the Pathways to Desistance Study, Maricopa County and Philadelphia County were partially selected to oversample Hispanics and Blacks (respectively)—the majority respondents from the non-white designation. The communities that these individuals return to following their initial justice contact, may have protective structures in place that help mitigate criminal offending opportunities. Among the time-variant measures, family support also emerged as relevant to offending group membership. While only modestly supported, greater family support reduced the odds of belonging to the high decreasing trajectory over the low. This combined with the contextual conditions may generally suggest family or community forces act in a positive matter towards reducing long-term antisocial or offending behaviors, in which location matters for racial protective effects.

This study also found that more exposure time—or time spent freely in the community or outside of a restrictive institution—*reduced* odds of belonging to the two of the higher offending trajectories (low decreasing and low stable) versus the low group. While some research would suggest that more exposure time leads to more offending risk, especially with immigrant-focused inquiries (see Orrick et al., 2021), the finding in

this study suggests the opposite and is not surprising with these data. Another immigrant-focused study investigating generational differences on the relationship between romantic relational qualities and criminal offending found that those with more street time were less likely to offend over time—which held over immigrant generations (Craig et al., 2020). While the study refrained from commenting on this specific relationship at the time, I offer a potential explanation here. Perhaps in this context, spending more time in restrictive institutions, like a psychiatric hospital or detention center, works to damage prosocial connections. Even though formal supervision is heightened, they are still restrictive institutional environments that do little to foster the same long-term, prosocial desistance effects that one would absorb compared to more free time spent in their respective communities.

Lastly, more antisocial peer activity was strongly associated with increased odds of belonging to any of the non-low trajectories. The magnitude of antisocial peer behavior was substantial on the study sample. However, to date and with few exceptions, antisocial peers have not garnered focused attention in how they directly (or indirectly) impact criminal offending in the immigrant-crime research (e.g., Gibson & Miller, 2010). Perhaps the effects here are amplified given the sample's experiences with the criminal legal system, but it stands to reason that their impact demands further consideration as the research into the immigrant paradox becomes more refined.

Immigrant Generation, Violent Victimization, and Related Covariates

Research Question 2 aimed to answer whether immigrant generation predicted different patterns of violent victimization. My second hypothesis stated that later generational status would impact membership to higher violent victimization trajectories.

As Tables 10-13 and Figures 7-8 showed, there was partial support for a relationship between immigrant generation and violent victimization—just not in the expected direction. While the relationship changes from statistical significance to marginal as time-variant variables were added to the model, an increase in immigrant generation predicted a decrease in odds of belonging to the mid decreasing violent victimization compared to the low group. Additionally, when time-invariant measures were added, this relationship emerged when comparing the high trajectory to the low. These findings are curious for several reasons. First, the bulk of the evidence suggests quite the opposite, in which early immigrant generational statuses typically provide protective effects for violent victimization outcomes. At worst, studies suggest a null relationship. Second, these trajectories reflect much more frequent exposures to violence compared to the low increasing-low trajectory dyad. Overall, this would suggest that belonging to an earlier immigrant generation—like the first- or second-generation—not only increases the risk of belonging to a victimization trajectory but trajectories that represent more dangerous long-term exposures to violence.

With samples traditionally used in the available research in this area (e.g., students in secondary education), this result would certainly be puzzling; however, these results may be explained within the context of the Pathways to Desistance study that contains justice-involved participants. This is an important consideration when examining life-course transitions. The long-term experiences this group faced might be strongly conditioned by a marker of vulnerability, compared to non-justice-involved youth. In the context of victimization, there may be a “differential selection” effect (Piquero, 2008). That is, different types of youth, particularly minority youth, are treated differently and

disparately as they undergo the adjudication process. While these data preclude analysis on individual experiences when it comes to system processes, the differential selection hypothesis may also lend itself to helping explain how immigrant and immigrant-adjacent youth are negatively, and developmentally, affected by system contact.

Each early immigrant generation endures markedly different experiences in the criminal justice system. For first-generation immigrants, “a series of administrative processes are triggered” as these individuals contend with visa concerns, deportability, and general discriminatory processes in state and federal justice domains (Orrick et al., 2021a; Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015). While personally protected from direct legal concerns, those belonging to the second, 2.5-generation, and third-generation must contend with more assimilatory and social processes that make it difficult to integrate successfully into U.S. cultures. Having what could be considered multiple ‘master statuses’—one associated with and proximity to the immigrant designation (see Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012) and the other with justice-involvement—may compound. As such, we may expect that criminal justice involvement redirects the general protective influences of the early immigrant generational gradient towards influences that create riskier, and more apparent, exposures to violence. The compounding effects of being both an early-generation immigrant and justice-involved may lend themselves to more disadvantage and violence exposure. In turn, scholarship may begin to see an emergent ‘reverse’ immigrant generational severity gradient as it relates to violent victimization endured over early and critical developmental periods. In other words, instead of immigrant generational statuses signaling a protective social domain for immigration-influenced

individuals, every successive generation towards nativity work to reduce the risk of violent victimization over time.

The theoretical implications of this reverse immigrant generational severity gradient are intriguing. If heightened social bonds and acculturative processes are supposed to combine in unique and protective ways the closer one is to the immigrant designation, then why would these results point in the exact opposite direction? Recalling Daigle et al.'s (2008) discussion of victimization across the life-course, increased social bonds—which I offer are expected to heighten and interact with risk-reducing acculturation among earlier immigrant generations—decrease the likelihood of criminal victimization. Key social bonds reduce exposure to criminal elements and thus exposure to criminal and violent victimization. Considering the extensive research on negative immigrant experiences in the criminal justice system, perhaps justice-contact acts as a knifing off point that turns traditional protective factors into risk factors among early immigrant generations.

As such, ascribed cultural orientations may serve to damage prosocial behaviors among justice-involved, early immigrant generation youth. Even though available meta-analytic evidence shows that cultural protective factors (e.g., familismo) more so promote prosocial outcomes, it remains that, in some contexts, these spheres of influence can act to inhibit prosocial development (Cahill et al., 2021). For this justice-involved sample, immigrant culture—alongside the legal and social disadvantages germane to the immigrant designation—could serve to break down key social bonds that generally protect against victimization and initiate more negative behavioral trajectories. This, combined with prominent associations seen in antisocial peer behavior and unsupervised

routine activities reported in this study, demonstrate that other theoretical pathways may be fruitful. In other words, as researchers make their way forward in unraveling the immigrant-crime and immigrant-victimization relationship at micro-levels, clear mechanisms should be tested to understand how and why relationships do or do not emerge.

While these points are insightful, other findings from time-invariant and time-variant models also point towards areas that deserve intentional investigation. In addition to immigrant generation, being white increased the odds of belonging to the mid decreasing violent victimization trajectory over the low across the estimated models (Table 10 and Table 12). This is certainly an interesting finding as in this particular context, non-white participants fare more favorably compared to whites insofar that they (non-whites) have reduced odds of belonging to one of the prominent victimization trajectories. While this study dichotomized a typically categorized variable, it is to some extent consistent with other studies that show Hispanics and Blacks (i.e., majority of non-white designation) have either null or positive impact on reduced victimization outcomes with these data (e.g., Mulford et al., 2018; Turanovic 2019). Like the race finding from the criminal offending results, site locations may offer a more supportive community that produce protective structures that benefit non-white respondents. Lastly, the association between greater early problem behavior and belonging to a violent victimization trajectory was salient in the time-invariant model, but it became less so when time-variant factors were considered. This would suggest that while early problem behavior is notable—its effects are somewhat mitigated by time-variant factors.

For acculturation and social control factors, the finding that greater family support decreases the odds of belonging to the mid decreasing victimization group versus the low is important. For Pathways to Desistance youth, the directional associations of both later generational status and greater family support may seem, in some ways, incompatible given the existing theory and research; however, these findings may offer unique insight into how family units inform victimization outcomes. As existing research supports, orientation and priority to the family unit traditionally help to heighten supervisory and support structures (see Sabogal et al., 1987); however, first-generation immigrants—and perhaps second or 2.5-generation youth—may not need the prosocial benefits often attributed to certain social bonds (e.g., attachment to school) to desist from crime or dissuade from criminal or risky contexts. Family support alone is relevant but not a crucial component to the overall immigrant experience. After all, contemporary perspectives suggest that cultural value systems germane to the immigrant experience, like familismo, heavily inform psychological adjustment (Hernández & Bámaca-Colbert, 2016)—not necessarily strict family support as measured in this study. Similar to the explanation above, the ameliorating effects of the immigrant experience—which primarily emphasizes cultural values—that immigrant-adjacent groups could benefit from are actually reversed.

The lack of significant associations for affirmation and belonging on victimization group membership are telling. Existing evidence demonstrates acculturation changes over time and has varying effects on transitions into early adulthood for early, predominately Latino, generational groups (Updegraff et al., 2012). While not discussed in detail above, these non-significant findings were also reported for the offending analysis. These null

relationships were surprising given the prosocial benefits of ethnic identity. This is exemplified in Knight et al. (2012), which used Pathways to Desistance data to examine offending and ethnic identity among the Mexican male subsample. They reported that among trajectories of offending and ethnic identity—which affirmation and belonging combine to produce—the joint trajectory with the lowest offending into adulthood had the highest and a generally stable ethnic identity. While this could certainly vary with victimization as the focal outcome, further investigation is needed to unravel how these factors engage with immigrant statuses to impact antisocial outcomes.

The most impactful factors in these sets of findings were unsupervised routine activities and antisocial peer behavior. Unsupervised routine activities saw a positive impact on the belonging to the low increasing and high victimization trajectory compared to the low. Meanwhile, more antisocial peer behavior greatly increased the odds of belonging to any of the violent victimization trajectories versus the low. These directional associations do well to support a perspective that emphasizes the paramount but general impact of social control and supervisory structures across the early-life course. While the literature has pointed towards the impact of these factors in immigrant-adjacent experiences, their effects are undoubtedly notable in these data.

Immigrant Generation and Dual Offending and Violent Victimization

Research Question 3 aimed to answer whether or not immigrant generation predicted an overlap in the patterns of criminal offending and violent victimization. Overall, the results from this study demonstrated a clear relationship in the joint trajectory between criminal offending and violent victimization; however, immigrant generation did little to distinguish this overlap. As Figure 9 and Figure 10 showed, there

were very few changes to the membership probabilities once immigrant generation was added as a risk factor to the model. Table 15 demonstrated that immigrant generation did not significantly impact the transition to any violent victimization trajectory controlling for offending trajectories. While this counters theoretical expectations, it is not surprising considering results from each section of the previous chapter. Even though immigrant generation did well to distinguish some violent victimization trajectory groups, it did not significantly predict membership to criminal offending groups. Thus, it is important to interpret these null findings and their potential meaning here.

While the prior limited research in this area appears favorable towards a victim-offender overlap conditioned or predicted by immigrant generation, its null effects here are telling of a broader trend at play. More specifically, when the most severe forms of offending and victimization are analyzed within a justice-involved sample (with the notable exception of homicide), perhaps the potential effects of immigrant generation yield to other more notable impacts on this joint relationship. Primarily, the contextual effects germane to the sample itself direct these findings. Similar to the discussion above, this justice-involved sample contains youth who go on to become young adults that by selection into the study, reflect disparate experiences compared to the general public. That is, researchers should not expect that the broader set of prosocial forces theorized to accompany the immigrant experience apply wholesale to this group of individuals. This is also evinced by the general nullification of acculturation or assimilation and family-related factors throughout the criminal offending and violent victimization trajectories. This combined with the strength of some factors across outcomes—namely peer antisocial behavior and unsupervised routine activities—reveals that other mechanisms

may apply more steadily once justice contact is initiated. As a whole, these findings may ultimately reveal is that the immigrant paradox phenomenon is present in some subpopulations but not others.

Considering the longitudinal nature of this study and the theoretically driven research hypotheses, there are several theoretical implications worthy of added discussion. The primary theoretical lens used in this dissertation was an assimilationist and DLCC lens to understand why immigrant generation would predict joint trajectories of criminal offending and violent victimization. First, the findings from this study suggest that acculturation factors and immigrant generation do little to influence trajectories of aggressive criminal offending and dual offending-victimization. This is surprising considering straight assimilatory trends have been instrumental in the emergence of the individual-level “immigrant paradox”. This is not to suggest the factor is not important, however. After all, a null finding in this regard is not evidence of its lack of magnitude but rather under this set of conditions, it did not impact membership to trajectories. Throughout my presentation of theory, a guiding thread relates to immigrant experiences, identities, and their interactions with developmental processes. Perhaps among this group of justice-involved youth, immigrant protections (e.g., familial oversight, cultural restraints) that weaken over the generational gradient do not bear enough weight to influence whether or not individuals conform to conventionalizing behaviors throughout the early life-course. Perhaps in this way, the immigrant intergenerational severity gradient becomes less of a gradient and more of a planar influence for those already exposed to criminal consequences. In other words, justice-contact levels the playing field. The central bonds across the early life-course in this context as one transitions into

adulthood, as well as a generally protective aspect of immigrant identities, may not be prominent enough influences to persuade (or dissuade) early immigrants from criminal activity, as well as situations where criminal activity leads to violent victimization over time.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This dissertation and its analysis are not without limitations. A principal limitation of this study relates to data constraints, namely a sufficient sample size to conduct *within-group* immigrant generation analysis. The current study yields insight towards the linear impact of immigrant statuses on offending and victimization trajectories in such a way that more so tests a predominately straight-line assimilatory process. While this is in and of itself an important, and underutilized, approach to understanding associations of immigrant generations on criminally related experiences, the reality is that immigrant-centered data collection efforts are difficult to come by. A preliminary look into other prominent datasets reveals severe limitations towards examining immigrant realities in focused and nuanced ways. For example, Add Health would certainly be a useful secondary dataset to investigate immigrant generation on the aforementioned outcomes. After all, many other studies have been able to establish precedence towards this space with these specific data (e.g., Bui, 2009; Bui & Thongniramol, 2005, Jiang & Peguero, 2017; Luo & Bouffard, 2016; Powell et al., 2010; Reingle et al., 2011; Wong, 2017). The Add Health, while rich in sample size and respondent information, do not have what may become two critical points explored in this study that future studies may benefit from, which are additional indicators of immigrant generations and designations (e.g.,

grandparent information) and the number of waves collected (monthly or traditional waves).

That said, a within-group immigrant generation approach was not possible in this study with the Pathways to Desistance sample. While others have examined within generational differences on criminal elements using these same data, they have done so using more of a “descriptive quantitative criminology” analytic strategy (see Bersani & Piquero, 2017). That is, their analysis trended towards differences in proportions by generation and hierarchical regressions using appropriately fewer predictors. The approach in this dissertation was possible because of the linear treatment of immigrant generations, so the trajectory form was more digestible in this case; however, future researchers should make deliberate efforts to capture what I loosely refer to as the “immigrant experience.” While larger data collection efforts should aim to overcome low immigrant generation cell counts by including more people in the sample and asking demographic questions (i.e., where the respondent was born and where parents/grandparents were born), they are limited in their capacity to capture the broader factors that theoretically contribute to differential across and within-immigrant generation influence on various antisocial behaviors. That is, the “immigrant experience” may only be vaguely reflected in the circumstances of birth. These immigrant categories, and their position within the immigrant paradox, have been shown to be reflections of much broader concepts than would initially be suggested. What does it truly mean to be a first-generation immigrant? Or a 2.5-generation native? What other factors contribute towards that designation that ripples through and impacts disparate developmental and long-term behavior? As such, future research should continue to study between- and within-

immigrant generational statuses and their effects on human behavior, but more deliberate thought should be put into what it means to belong to a demographic group or an immigrant generational status initially (see Sen & Wasow, 2016).

Another limitation is the data available from the criminal offending analysis compared to the violent victimization. While the use of traditional Pathways to Desistance time points (6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84) certainly allow for a detailed investigation into longitudinal behaviors, these post-baseline points are still limited to only ten points in time. Now most longitudinal criminological inquiries would strongly benefit from this many points of analysis; however, the Calendar monthly data offered far more available information—particularly beneficial for semi-parametric, group-based approaches. In order to effectively conduct further inquiries into offending-victimization overlaps, especially when considering already existing challenges with applying immigrant or racial-ethnic focuses (e.g., low sample sizes/cell counts, majority focuses or data collection efforts conducted with a white majority in mind), future efforts should strive to include as many waves of data as possible. Doing so allows for extensive insight into nuanced temporal patterns of behavior, and in the immigrant-criminological research, these analyses are virtually absent.

Lastly, this study was limited to the examination of males. Previous studies have supported that sex plays a notable conditioning role in the relationship between immigrant statuses and crime involvement or victimization (e.g., Koo et al., 2012a, 2012b; Sabina et al., 2013). That is, the social forces that propel males across the immigrant generational severity gradient vary to some degree from their female counterparts. For example, the Hispanic/Latino/a cultural script of *marianismo* that

conditions women to be subservient, humble, and independent may yield substantially different mechanisms contributing to criminal involvement or exposures to violence (for extensive qualitative review of this value system in practice, see Gil & Vazquez, 2014). Perhaps this examination would have yielded substantially varied results if the analysis were stratified by sex; however, due to data constraints, this was not possible and thus outside the scope of the study. Certainly, many immigrant-focused studies, as is the case in most criminological research, are focused on the experience of males. As such, a sex or gendered approach to these types of inquiries may shed light on the intricate social processes that could disparately impact females on the immigrant generational gradient and their subsequent antisocial behaviors and experiences across the early and later life-course.

In conclusion, the limitations in this study are primarily consequences of the data. However, I recognize that both within-generation and extended multi-wave data collection efforts may ultimately be at odds with each other. The former would benefit from more intricate measures and augmented samples sizes, while the latter would benefit from continued longitudinal data collection or collections at smaller and numerous intervals of time. Regardless of the effort, researchers who seek to study immigrant realities across sexes would benefit from collecting as much information from as many respondents as time and resources allow with immigrant experiences (and existing research) driving the aims of the study.

Practical Implications

While the individual-level research surrounding immigrant experiences with criminal elements has grown substantially in the last decade, efforts to convert the lessons

of these findings into actionable policy have only just begun. Focusing on the findings of this dissertation, a clear policy recommendation comes in the form of targeted, culturally sensitive interventions aimed at early points in the life-course. On its surface, early generational youth who have had justice contact or show early signs of antisocial behavior should be targeted intentionally; however, it is important to consider broader individual and structural constraints. To illustrate this, I use Jolie and colleagues' (2021) discussion to highlight the importance of resiliency and vulnerability among immigrant units. As the authors highlighted, immigrant resiliencies persist at the individual, family, and community levels. Each may emerge at various levels to help immigrants and their children cope with stressors across the life-course. For example, as Adames and Chavez-Dueñas (2016, p. 29) explicated in their text about Latino/a immigrant culture, mental health, and adaptations, Latina/os (and Latino/a immigrants) promote seven psychological strengths: determination, esperanza, adaptability, strong work ethic, connectedness to others, collective emotional expression, and resistance (see Jolie et al., 2021). These individual-level orientations serve a general immigrant-centered resiliency (Adames & Chavez-Dueñas, 2016; Jolie et al., 2021). Family-oriented value systems, like the aforementioned familismo typically can help at the family-level. At the community-stage, criminological studies often attribute several social forces towards immigrant resiliency away from victimization (and offending) (e.g., Xie & Baumer, 2019b). This explication highlights the interconnectedness of immigrant resiliency at various levels. At the same time, justice-contact may serve to wholesale engage with how these various strengths and resiliencies operate. Despite this potential caustic ripple through the

immigrant reality, these same value systems can be used to help with tailored interventions.

As Jolie and colleagues detailed (2021), there are multiple interventions that have established principles to help immigrant and immigrant-proxied individuals in need, particularly early generation immigrants who are victims of violent criminal acts. These primarily include individualized services aimed at processing trauma like behavioral therapies or multi-level frameworks. For example, Jolie et al. (2021) did well to highlight Chavez-Dueñas and colleagues' (2019) immigrant-focused intersectionality framework known as HEART or Healing Ethno and Racial Trauma. Their four-phase, rich cultural framework offers to help address ethno-racial trauma at various levels. I focus on the first phase that aims to establish sanctuary spaces for Latinxs experiencing ethno-racial trauma, which would assist with the immediate relief of the effects of trauma. As it relates to the impact of system involvement and long-term violent victimization exposure, this phase may be what is traditionally proposed via trauma-informed services received following a victimization event. This is a critical juncture point as direct system responses to Latino/a victims are severely lacking in the Latinx and immigrant community (see Garza et al., 2021). For individuals, families, and communities in the first phase, Chavez-Dueñas et al. (2019, p. 58) proposed many recommendations that can help with immediate responses to early immigrant generation experiences to system contact and violent victimization. These include immediate crisis intervention, family-related legal interventions (e.g., deportation initiation, caregiver services), and resources for mental health treatment with materials made available in multiple languages—to name a few. Later phases in this specific framework offer more structural intervention

efforts; however, first-phase initiatives are in dire need to help early immigrant generations cope with the immediate and residual consequences of being involved with the criminal justice system during a critical and early developmental period and possible victimization later in the life-course.

Conclusion

The current study investigated the longitudinal linkages between immigrant generation and its impact on criminal offending and violent victimization trajectories. While the research largely suggests that early immigrant generational statuses protect against antisocial outcomes, few efforts have been made to understand this effect on both offending and victimization—independently and concurrently. This study aimed to address this gap in the research using the Pathways to Desistance Study. These longitudinal data contain information from justice-involved respondents spanning seven years. This study found that immigrant generation was negatively associated with membership to heightened violent victimization trajectories, controlling for factors highly relevant to the offending-victimization overlap. A significant association was not found between immigrant generation and criminal offending nor criminal offending and violent victimization examined jointly.

Based on the findings of this study and available research, it is clear the link between immigrant statuses and experiences to their behaviors during key developmental transitions is more complex than what meets the eye. While the timbre of the immigrant paradox colors the individual-level research, it may not hold equally across the board for individuals across contexts. This, to a degree, has been suggested through assimilation and DLCC theories that frame assimilatory processual differences across immigrant

generations and ethnic backgrounds. But in the context of this study, immigrant and immigrant-adjacent statuses seen through a more linear, generational lens do little to protect those closest to immigrant realities in this sample of justice-involved individuals. As studies redirect their attention to mechanisms accounting for the mitigating impact immigrant statuses have on antisocial experiences, special and intricate attention should be paid to understand the circumstances that may further disadvantage those closer to the immigrant designation.

This dissertation paints the immigrant reality in a different light compared to the norm. Even though the immigrant paradox has been heralded as the next criminological truth, it remains that research has only begun to understand the nuances of these relationships at the individual-level. As we expand our behaviors of interest, types of immigrant populations, and methods of measurement, it is imperative scholarship maintains an orientation towards consilience. There is so much we do not know about the immigrant experience and leveraging knowledge across a motley of subfields of science will help guide this growing area of scholarship. However, there is one notion beyond doubt: immigrants and immigrant-adjacent individuals are vulnerable to the sinews of the criminal justice and legal system. Resiliency may be germane to the immigrant reality, but an immigrant proximity is not a panacea against antisocial behavior nor struggle.

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APPENDIX A

Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Offending with Time-Invariant Factors

	Low	Low Stable	Mid Decreasing	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.95(.94-.96)	0.02	0.06	0.00
Low Stable	0.01	0.93(.91-.95)	0.05	0.02
Mid Decreasing	0.04	0.04	0.88(.86-.90)	0.01
High Decreasing	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.97(.95-.99)

Note. Low ($n=489$, 51.64%), Low Stable ($n=146$, 15.42%), Mid Decreasing ($n=230$, 24.29%), and High Decreasing ($n=82$, 8.66%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX B

Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Offending with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	Low	Low Decreasing	Low Stable	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.92(.90-.93)	0.06	0.03	0.00
Low Decreasing	0.05	0.94(.92-.95)	0.00	0.00
Low Stable	0.03	0.00	0.96(.95-.98)	0.02
High Decreasing	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.98(.96-.99)

Note. Low ($n=257$, 39.36%), Low Decreasing ($n=255$, 39.05%), Low Stable ($n=101$, 15.47%), and High Decreasing ($n=40$, 6.13%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX C

Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Count Victimization with Time-Invariant Factors

	Low	Mid Decreasing	Low Increasing	High
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.84(.83-.85)	0.09	0.09	0.00
Mid Decreasing	0.08	0.74(.71-.77)	0.09	0.06
Low Increasing	0.08	0.13	0.75(.73-.78)	0.11
High	0.00	0.04	0.06	0.83(.79-.88)

Note. Low ($n=575$, 60.72%), Mid Decreasing ($n=145$, 15.31%), Low Increasing ($n=176$, 18.59%), and High ($n=51$, 5.39%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX D

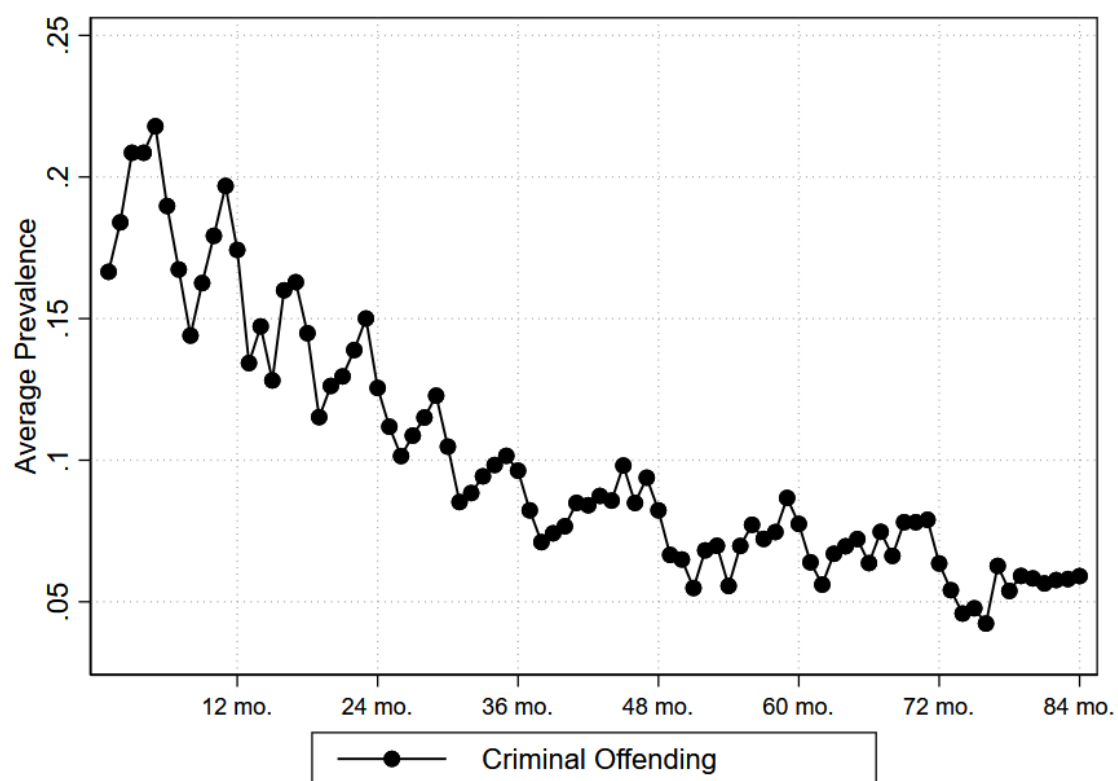
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Count Victimization with Time-Invariant and Time-Varying Factors

	Low	Mid Decreasing	Low Increasing	High
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.88(.86-.89)	0.07	0.08	0.00
Mid Decreasing	0.05	0.75(.71-.79)	0.10	0.07
Low Increasing	0.08	0.15	0.79(.76-.82)	0.10
High	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.83(.78-.88)

Note. Low ($n=348$, 53.29%), Mid Decreasing ($n=149$, 15.62%), Low Increasing ($n=149$, 22.82%), and High ($n=54$, 8.27%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX E

Average Prevalence of Criminal Offending Across Sample



APPENDIX F

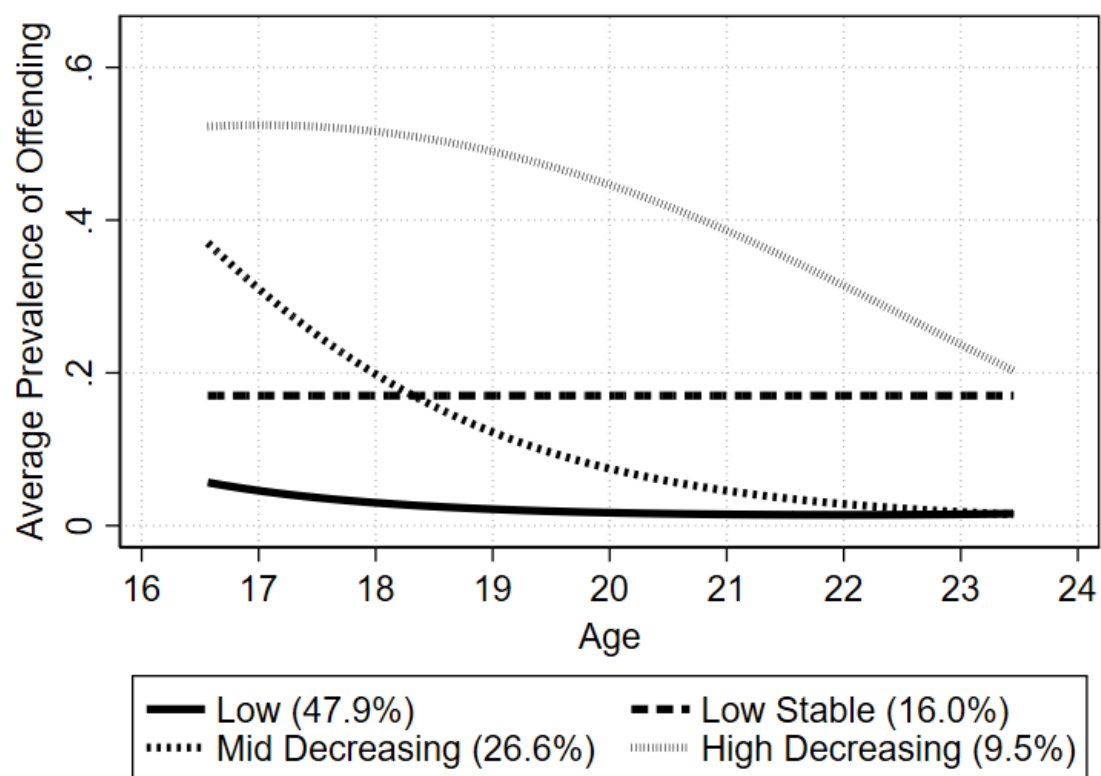
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Offending with No Risk Factors

	Low	Low Stable	Mid Decreasing	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.93(.92-.94)	0.03	0.07	0.00
Low Stable	0.01	0.88(.86-.90)	0.05	0.04
Mid Decreasing	0.05	0.07	0.88(.86-.90)	0.01
High Decreasing	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.95(.93-.97)

Note. Low ($n=543$, 47.93%), Low Stable ($n=181$, 15.98%), Mid Decreasing ($n=301$, 26.57%), and High Decreasing ($n=108$, 9.53%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX G

Binary Criminal Offending Trajectories without Risk Factors



APPENDIX H

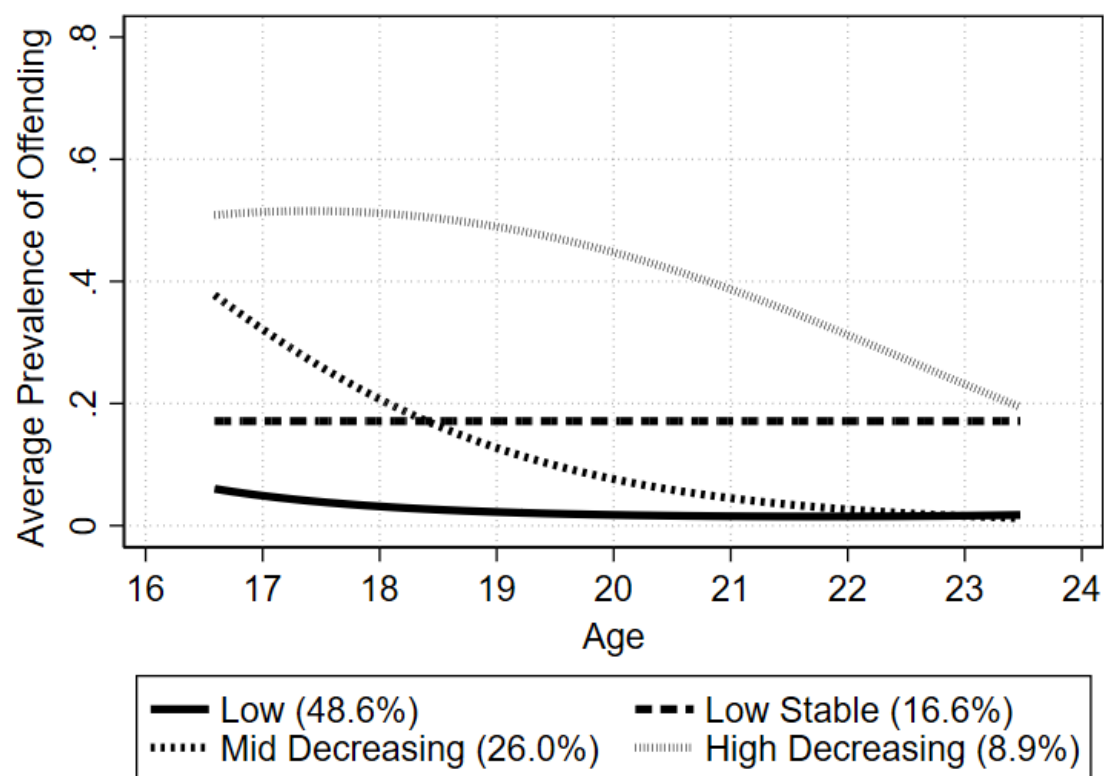
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Offending with Time-Invariant Factors

	Low	Low Stable	Mid Decreasing	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.94(.93-.95)	0.04	0.07	0.00
Low Stable	0.01	0.86(.84-.89)	0.04	0.04
Mid Decreasing	0.04	0.08	0.89(.87-.91)	0.01
High Decreasing	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.95(.92-.97)

Note. Low ($n=460$, 48.57%), Low Stable ($n=157$, 16.58%), Mid Decreasing ($n=246$, 25.98%), and High Decreasing ($n=84$, 8.87%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX I

Binary Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors



APPENDIX J

Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant Factors on Trajectories of Binary Offending (N=947)

Variables	Low Stable vs. Low		Mid Decreasing vs. Low		High Decreasing vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	-0.01(0.99)	0.09	-0.06(0.94)	0.08	-0.12(0.89)	0.11
White	0.54(1.72)*	0.27	0.51(1.67)*	0.24	0.58(1.79)†	0.32
Parental Education	0.04(1.04)	0.12	0.03(1.03)	0.11	0.13(1.14)	0.14
Early Problem Behavior	0.34(1.40)**	0.12	0.48(1.62)**	0.08	0.64(1.90)**	0.11
Constant	-1.72(0.18)**	0.34	-1.31(0.27)**	0.30	-2.71(0.07)**	0.42

Note. † $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

APPENDIX K

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Binary Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

	(2)=(3)=(4)		(2)=(3)=(4)=0		(2)=(3)		(3)=(4)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	0.79	0.68	1.59	0.66	0.20	0.65	0.32	0.57

Note. (2) = Low Stable; (3) = Mid Decreasing; (4) High Decreasing. Reference group is Low offending.

APPENDIX L

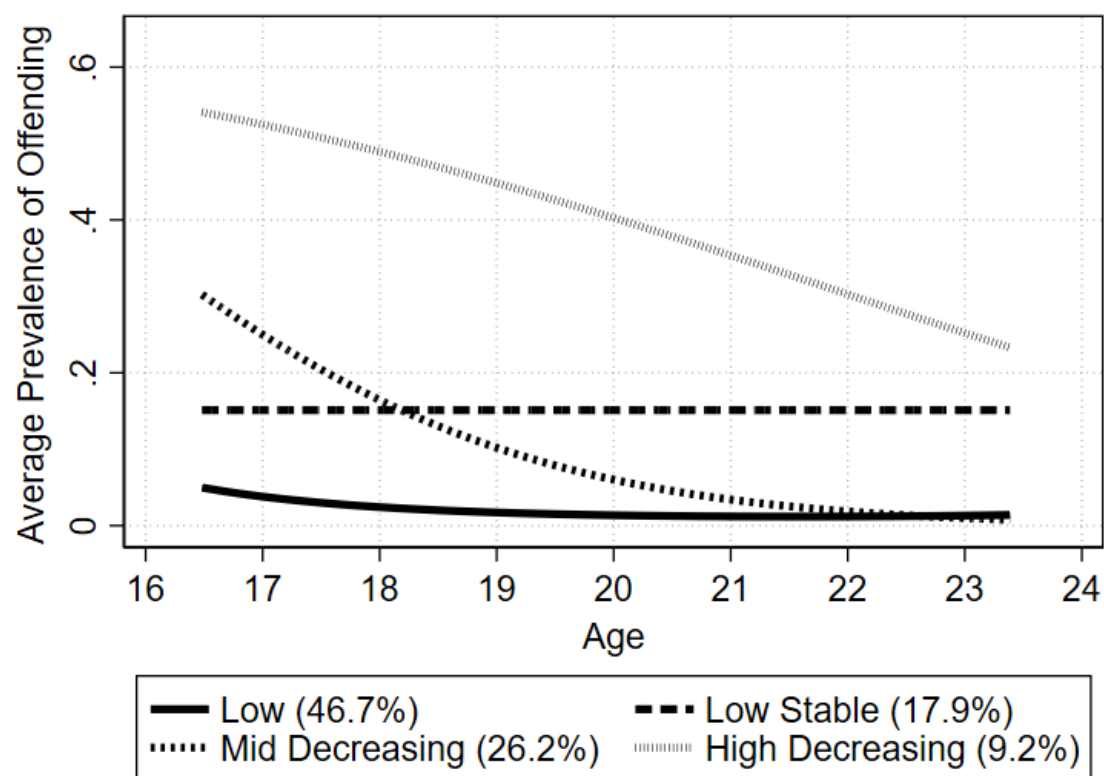
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Offending with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	Low	Low Stable	Mid Decreasing	High Decreasing
Trajectory Group				
Low	0.94(.92-.95)	0.04	0.06	0.00
Low Stable	0.01	0.88(.86-.92)	0.05	0.03
Mid Decreasing	0.05	0.07	0.88(.86-.91)	0.01
High Decreasing	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.96(.93-.98)

Note. Low ($n=305$, 46.71%), Low Stable ($n=117$, 17.92%), Mid Decreasing ($n=171$, 26.19%), and High Decreasing ($n=60$, 9.19%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX M

Binary Criminal Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors



APPENDIX N

Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors on Trajectories of Binary Criminal Offending (N=653)

	Low Stable vs. Low		Mid Decreasing vs. Low		High Decreasing vs. Low	
Variables	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant						
Immigrant Generation	0.01(1.01)	0.13	-0.07(0.93)	0.12	-0.23(0.79)	0.20
White	0.83(2.29)*	0.42	0.70(2.01)†	0.38	1.10(3.00)†	0.60
Parental Education	0.08(1.08)	0.17	0.19(1.21)	0.16	0.56(1.75)*	0.25
Early Problem Behavior	0.12(1.13)	0.13	0.38(1.46)**	0.11	0.44(1.55)*	0.18
Time-Variant						
Affirmation	0.12(1.13)	0.52	0.49(1.63)	0.48	0.84(2.32)	0.69
Identity	-0.27(0.76)	0.54	-0.62(0.54)	0.50	-1.56(0.21)*	0.76
Family Support	-0.19(0.83)	0.13	-0.20(0.82)†	0.11	-0.50(0.61)**	0.18
Non-Family Support	0.35(1.42)†	0.19	0.20(1.22)	0.18	-0.11(0.90)	0.27
Neighborhood Disorder	-0.15(0.86)	0.27	-0.45(0.64)†	0.25	-0.24(0.79)	0.40
Routine Activities	0.26(1.30)	0.27	-0.28(0.76)	0.24	0.07(1.07)	0.39
Antisocial Peers	2.98(19.69)**	0.43	2.68(14.59)**	0.40	6.01(407.48)**	0.63
Exposure Time	-1.96(0.14)**	0.69	-1.05(0.35)	0.64	-1.41(0.24)	0.99
Constant	-4.67(0.01)*	1.94	-2.36(0.09)	1.70	-9.44(0.00)**	2.71

Note. † $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

APPENDIX O

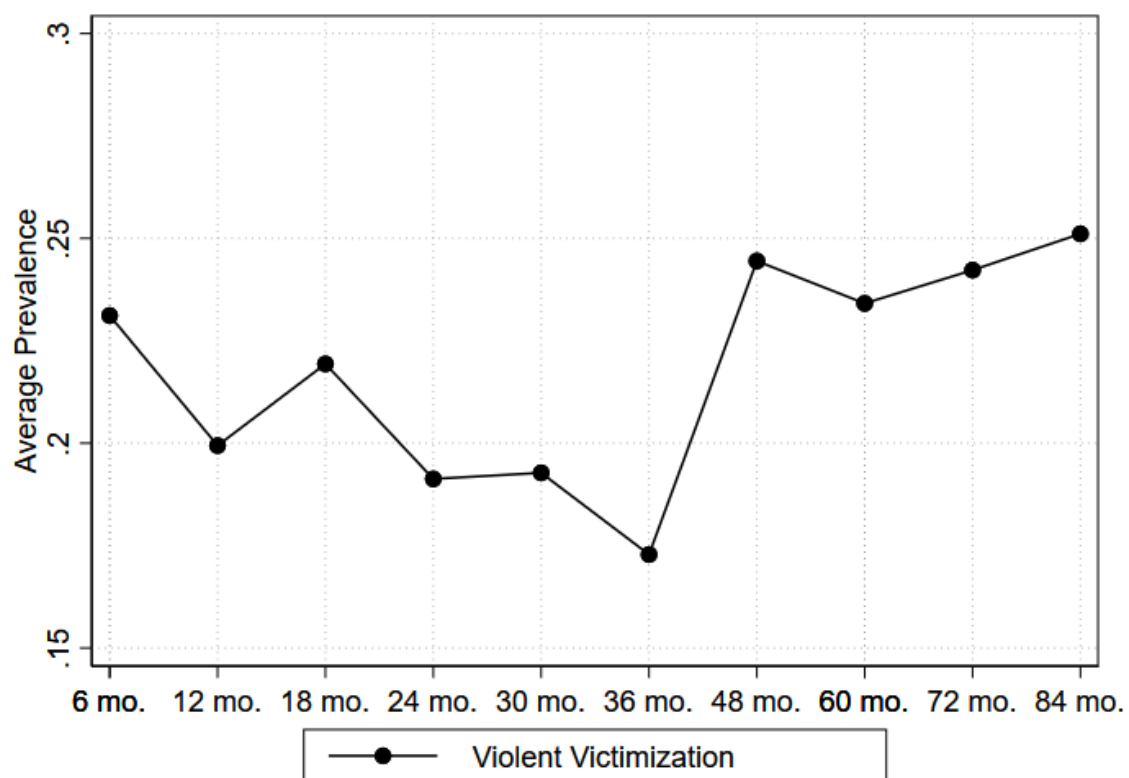
Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Binary Offending Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	(2)=(3)=(4)		(2)=(3)=(4)=0		(2)=(3)		(3)=(4)	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	1.70	0.43	1.94	0.59	0.33	0.56	0.88	0.35

Note. (2) = Low Stable; (3) = Mid Decreasing; (4) High Decreasing. Reference group is Low offending.

APPENDIX P

Prevalence of Violent Victimization Across Sample



APPENDIX Q

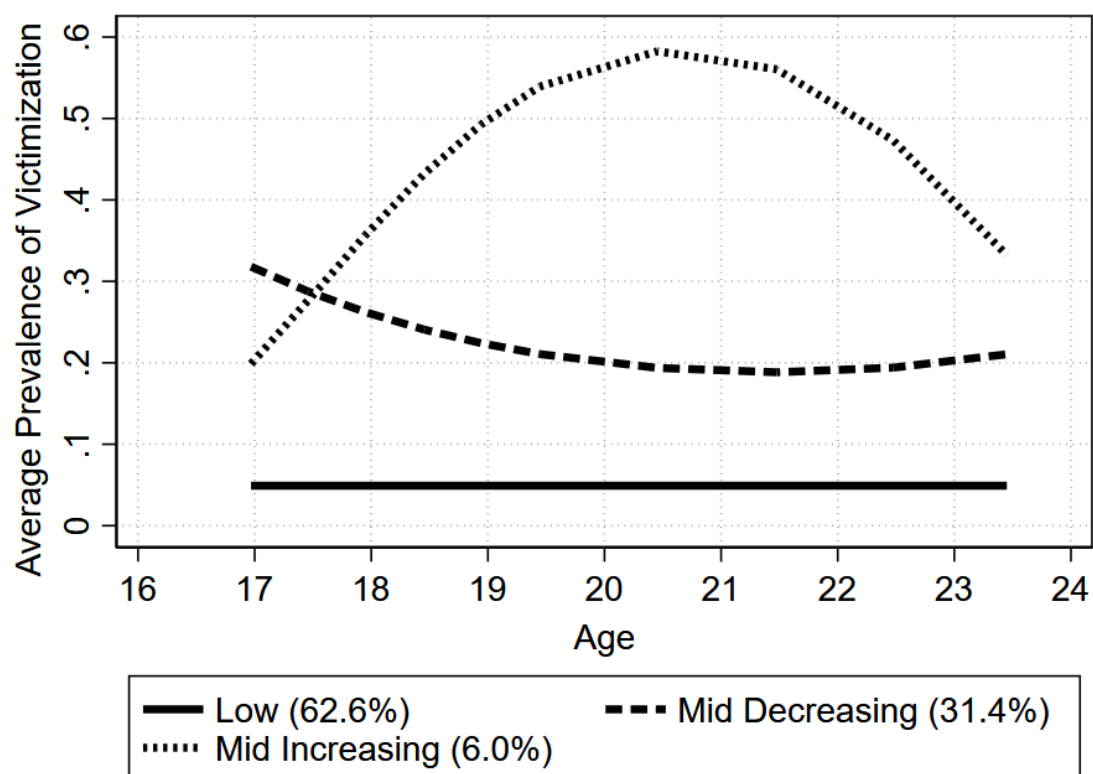
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Violent Victimization with No Risk Factors

	Low	Mid Decreasing	Mid Increasing
Trajectory Group			
Low	0.82(.81-.83)	0.15	0.03
Mid Decreasing	0.17	0.73(.72-.75)	0.25
Mid Increasing	0.01	0.11	0.72(.68-.76)

Note. Low ($n=709$, 62.58%), Mid Decreasing ($n=356$, 31.42%), and Mid Increasing ($n=68$, 6.00%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX R

Binary Violent Victimization Trajectories with No Risk Factors



APPENDIX S

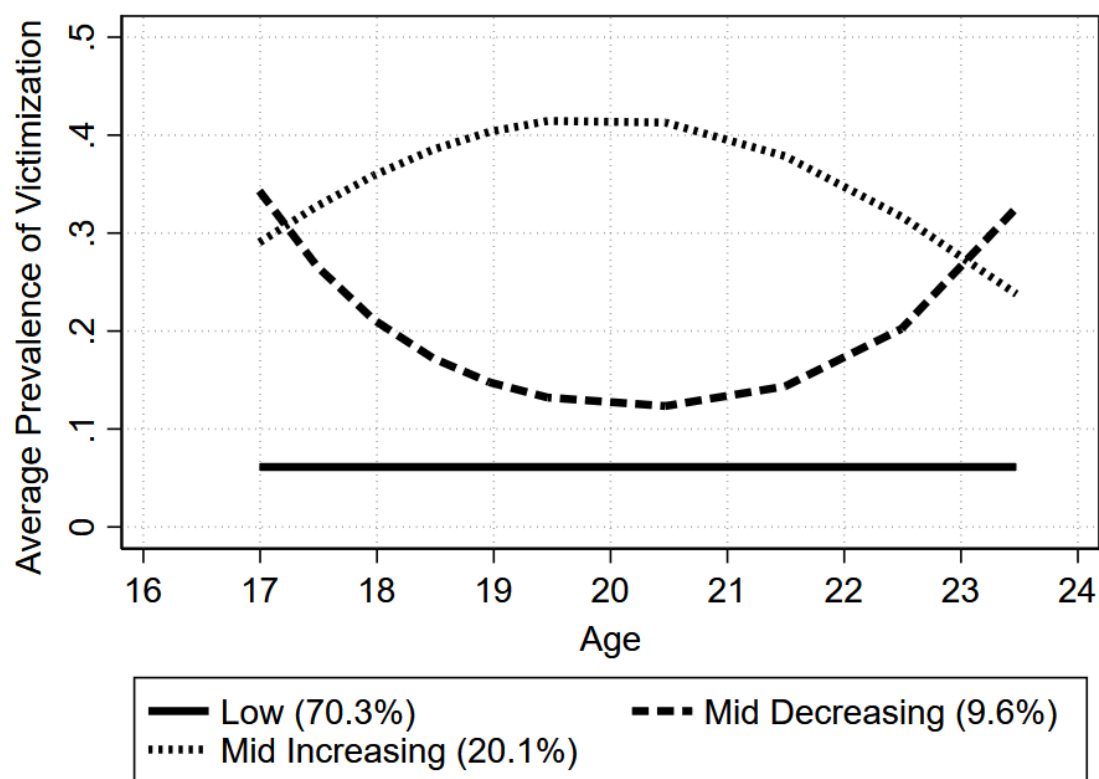
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Violent Victimization with Time-Invariant Factors

	Low	Mid Decreasing	Mid Increasing
Trajectory Group			
Low	0.85(.84-.86)	0.17	0.14
Mid Decreasing	0.07	0.70(.66-.73)	0.11
Mid Increasing	0.07	0.14	0.75(.73-.78)

Note. Low ($n=666$, 70.33%), Mid Decreasing ($n=91$, 9.61%), and Mid Increasing ($n=190$, 20.06%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX T

Binary Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors



APPENDIX U

Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant Factors on Trajectories of Binary Violent Victimization (N=947)

Variables	Mid Decreasing vs. Low		Mid Increasing vs. Low	
	Estimate (OR)	SE	Estimate (OR)	SE
Time-Invariant				
Immigrant Generation	-0.56(0.57)**	0.61	-0.02(0.98)	0.11
White	1.36(3.90)*	0.22	0.14(1.15)	0.30
Parental Education	-0.16(0.85)	0.61	0.01(1.01)	0.13
Early Problem Behavior	0.52(1.68)**	0.21	0.32(1.38)**	0.10
Constant	-0.86	0.61	-1.73**	0.51

Note. † $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

APPENDIX V

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Binary Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant Factors

	(2)=3		(2)=(3)=0	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	6.86	0.01	7.22	0.03

Note. (2) Mid Decreasing; (3) Mid Increasing. Reference group is Low victimization.

APPENDIX W

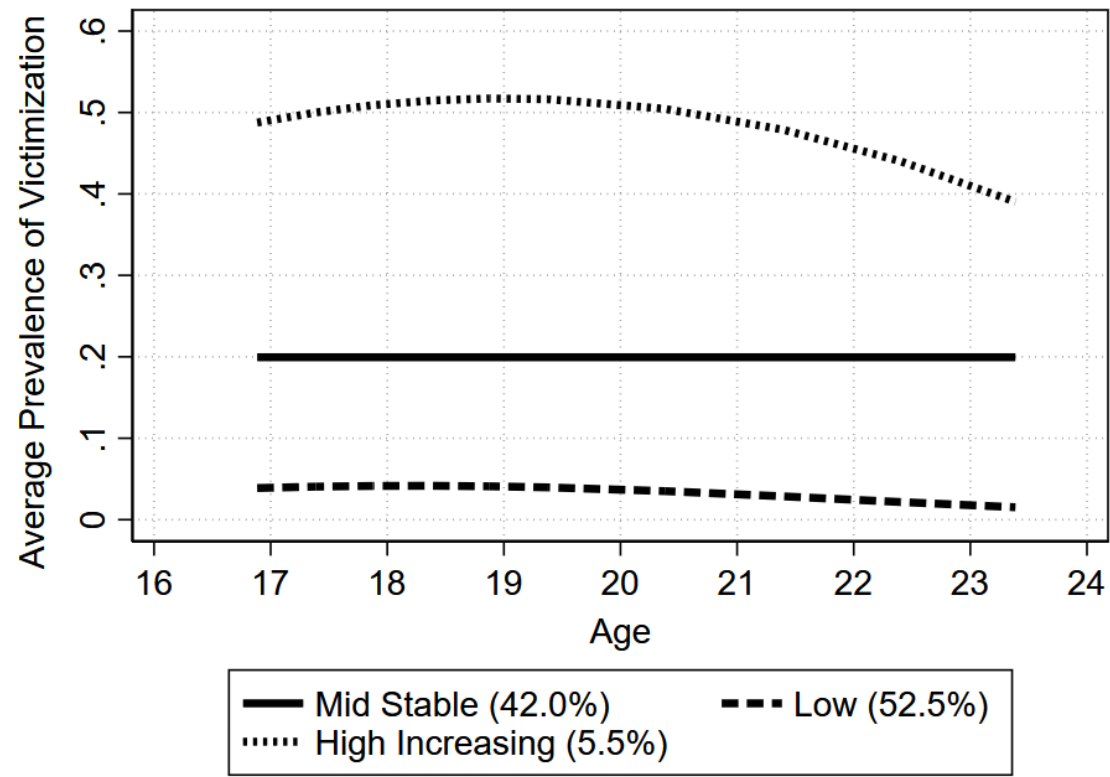
Average Posterior Group Membership Probabilities (AvePP_j) for Binary Violent Victimization with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	Low	Mid Stable	High Increasing
Trajectory Group			
Low	0.85(.81-.90)	0.03	0.01
Mid Stable	0.11	0.90(.88-.92)	0.10
High Increasing	0.04	0.06	0.89(.87-.91)

Note. Low ($n=343$, 52.53%), Mid Stable ($n=274$, 41.96%), and High Increasing ($n=36$, 5.51%). Bolded estimates show confidence intervals in parentheses.

APPENDIX X

Binary Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors



APPENDIX Y

Parameter Estimates of Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors on Trajectories of Binary Violent Victimization (N=653)

Variables	Mid Stable vs. Low		High Increasing vs. Low	
	Estimate(OR)	SE	Estimate(OR)	SE
Time-Invariant				
Immigrant Generation	0.14(1.15)	0.15	-0.62(0.54) [†]	0.33
White	-0.37(0.69)	0.50	-1.36(0.20) [†]	0.82
Parental Education	0.27(1.31)	0.22	1.00(2.74)*	0.41
Early Problem Behavior	-0.20(0.82)	0.15	0.28(1.33)	0.28
Time-Variant				
Affirmation	-0.10(0.90)	0.66	-0.51(0.60)	0.97
Identity	0.08(1.09)	0.62	-3.45(0.03)*	1.17
Family Support	-0.00(1.0)	0.15	-0.49(0.61) [†]	0.29
Non-Family Support	-0.28(0.75)	0.23	-0.05(0.95)	0.40
Routine Activities	-0.66(0.52) [†]	0.35	0.57(1.77)	0.67
Antisocial Peers	-3.24(0.04)**	0.57	4.00(54.65)**	1.12
Exposure Time	1.15(3.14)	0.87	4.20(66.68)*	1.79
Constant	6.84(938.52)**	2.39	-4.28(0.01)	4.23

Note. [†] $p \leq 0.10$ * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$

APPENDIX Z

Wald Tests Comparing Predictive Effect of Immigrant Generational Status on Group Membership of Binary Violent Victimization Trajectories with Time-Invariant and Time-Variant Factors

	(1)=(3)		(1)=(3)=0	
Chi-Square Statistic	χ^2	p-value	χ^2	p-value
Immigrant Generation	5.46	0.02	5.72	0.06

Note. (1) Mid Stable; (3) High Increasing. Reference group is Low victimization.

APPENDIX AA

Since the outcome measure for criminal offending is binary at each assessment period (month) in this analysis, the involvement or participation of criminal offending is estimated using the binary logit distribution. The following shows the *basic model* using the specification of the likelihood for the binary logit distribution:

$$y_{it}^* = \beta_0^j + \beta_1^j Age_{it} + \beta_2^j Age_{it}^2 + \beta_3^j Age_{it}^3 + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Under this basic polynomial model, a latent variable structure is used. Briefly, i refers to the individual, t denotes the time period examined, j refers to the trajectory group, and y_{it} represents the observed binary outcome (0, 1). It is assumed that if $y_{it} = 1$ then $y_{it}^* > 0$, and if $y_{it} = 0$ then $y_{it}^* \leq 0$. The following shows the *full specification* of the likelihood for the binary logit distribution:

$$\alpha_{it}^j = \frac{e^{\beta_0^j + \beta_1^j Age_{it} + \beta_2^j Age_{it}^2 + \beta_3^j Age_{it}^3}}{1 + e^{\beta_0^j + \beta_1^j Age_{it} + \beta_2^j Age_{it}^2 + \beta_3^j Age_{it}^3}}$$

Under this specification, α_{it}^j represents the probability of $y_{it} = 1$ provided membership into a given trajectory (j) or $p^j(y_{it} = 1)$. Note how in the numerator e is exponentiated by the polynomial function of y_{it} in which the total numerator reflects the intercept, linear, quadratic, and cubic form of the binary criminal measure at each time point or age. Given the value distribution (0 to 1) of the criminal offending measure, estimation is more efficient via the binary distribution and not the probit distribution, which is generally adequate given that both follow a similar distribution pattern or shape. Overall, y_{it}^* is used to generate α_{it}^j as an index of latent potential over the time points examined on any given trajectory. Based on this specification, and other GBTM

specifications more broadly, the nonlinear shape provided by a given trajectory is determined by polynomials associated with the time point or age (β_0^j , β_1^j , β_2^j , and β_3^j).

VITA

Chris Guerra CURRICULUM VITAE

Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, TX 77341-2296

Education

- 2018 - Ph.D., Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University (SHSU)
Dissertation: *An Inquiry into the Impact of Immigrant Generation on Offending and Victimization Trajectories*, Expected May 2022
- 2018 M.S., Criminal Justice, University of North Texas
- 2015 B.S., Criminal Justice; B.A., Psychology, University of North Texas
Spanish (Minor), *Magna Cum Laude*

Academic Positions

- 2018 - Doctoral Research Assistant/Teaching Fellow,
Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, SHSU
- 2016-2018 Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of Criminal Justice
University of North Texas

Research Interests

Immigrant Antisocial Behavior	Cybercrime
Mechanisms of the Immigrant-Paradox	Policing Issues
Life-Course Criminology	

Refereed Journal Articles

- Orrick, E. A., **Guerra, C.**, & Piquero, A. R. Criminal careers and immigration: An analysis of offending over the life course among homicide inmates in Texas. *Crime & Delinquency*. Online First. doi:10.1177/00111287211039996
- Craig, J. M., **Guerra, C.**, & Piquero, A. R. (2020). Immigrant status, offending, and desistance: Do relationship characteristics matter?. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, 6(67), 67-94. doi:10.1007/s40865-019-00133-4.
- Guerra, C.** & Ingram, J. R. (2020). Assessing the relationship between lifestyle routine activities theory and online victimization using panel data. *Deviant Behavior*, 43(1), 44-60. doi:10.1080/01639625.2020.1774707.
- Ingram, J. R., Rockwell, A. R., **Guerra, C.**, & Paoline, E. (2021). An examination of officer job satisfaction and workgroup cultural fit. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 13(3), 1713-1728. doi:10.1093/police/paab023

Manuscripts Under Review

Guerra, C., Connolly, E. J., & Boisvert, D. The immigrant experience and alcohol use: Heart rate as a source of risk and resilience. *Revise & Resubmit.*

Updegrove, A., Cooper, M., Luo, F., & **Guerra, C.** The effect of skin color on Latinxs' perceptions of criminal injustice. *Under Initial Review.*

Manuscripts In Progress

Guerra, C. An investigation into the relative stability of familism among previously adjudicated youth.

Guerra, C. Taking stock of immigrant generational differences in crime across the life course: Considerations and suggestions.

Shelfer, D., Gullion, C. L., **Guerra, C.**, Zhang, Y., & Ingram, J.R. A systematic review of Project Safe Neighborhoods effects.

Professional Presentations

Academic

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2021 | Guerra, Chris. "An investigation into the relative stability of familism among previously adjudicated youth." Presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. |
| 2021 | Guerra, Chris. Roundtable: Navigating Graduate School. American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. |
| 2020 | Guerra, Chris. "The immigrant experience and alcohol use: Heart rate as a source of risk and resilience." Abstract accepted for the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. |
| 2020 | Guerra, Chris. "An investigation into the stability of the familism and the immigrant-crime nexus". Abstract accepted for the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting, San Antonio, TX. |
| 2019 | Rockwell, Alexis & Guerra, Chris. "Police Use of Force, Culture, and Perceptions." Presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA. |
| 2019 | Guerra, Chris. "Applying Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory to Cybercrime Victimization: An Examination Using Panel Data." Presented at the Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice Annual Meeting, Houston, TX. |
| 2019 | Guerra, Chris. "The Fundamental Demographics of Digital Piracy Offenders." Presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD. |

- 2017 Guerra, Chris. "An Overview of Body Cameras." Presented at the Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice Annual Meeting, Fort Worth, TX.

Invited Presentations

- 2021 Guerra, Chris & Griesmyer, Elise. Crime Victims' Institute Talk Series – Immigrant Victimization. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpG-xAXgeWg&t=4s&ab_channel=SHSUCJ

Funded Research

Research Assistantships

- 2020 **Research Assistant** to Dr. Jason R. Ingram and Dr. Yan Zhang
Evaluating Project Safe Neighborhoods in the Southern District of Texas Year 1. Funded by the Office of the Texas Governor. Department of Justice. PI: Yan Zhang, Co-PI: Jason R. Ingram, William Wells, \$252,105.00.
- 2019 **Research Assistant** to Dr. Ling Ren
An Evaluation of Proactive Prosecutorial Response to Domestic Violence in Montgomery County, Texas. Jointly funded by the SHSU's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs and the Montgomery County District Attorney's Office, Texas. PI: Ling Ren, \$28,255.

Teaching Experience

Independent Instructor

- 2022 Introduction to Methods of Research (Writing Enhanced) – CRIJ 3378.14. Online. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, SHSU (Spring 2022)
- 2021 Introduction to Methods of Research (Writing Enhanced) – CRIJ 3378.06. Online. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, SHSU (Fall 2021)
- 2021 Introduction to Methods of Research (Writing Enhanced) – CRIJ 3378.03. Face-to-Face. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, SHSU, (Spring 2021)
- 2020 Introduction to Methods of Research (Writing Enhanced) – CRIJ 3378.01. Hybrid model adapting Face-to-Face with remote delivery for COVID-19. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, SHSU, (Fall 2020)

Graduate Teaching Assistantships

Undergraduate Courses

- 2021 Correctional Strategies – Undergraduate, SHSU (Spring 2021)
- 2020 Corrections Systems and Practices – Undergraduate, SHSU (Fall 2020)
- 2019 Police Systems and Practice – Undergraduate, SHSU (Spring 2019)
- 2018 Police Systems and Practice – Undergraduate, SHSU (Fall 2019)
- 2017 Criminal Justice Research Methods – Undergraduate, UNT (Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- 2016 Criminology – Undergraduate, UNT (Fall)
- 2016 Criminal Justice Research Methods – Undergraduate, UNT (Fall)

Graduate Courses

2017	Criminal Justice Policy – Graduate – (Online), UNT (Fall 2017)
2017	Criminal Justice Research Methods – Graduate (Online), UNT (Spring, Summer, & Fall)

Awards and Honors

2021	Rolando, Josefa, and Jocelyn del Carmen Criminal Justice Scholarship, SHSU, \$1,000
2020	John Lee McMaster Criminal Justice Scholarship, SHSU, \$2,500
2019	Rolando, Josefa, and Jocelyn del Carmen Criminal Justice Scholarship, SHSU, \$1,000
2016	Tory J. Caeti Memorial Scholarship, UNT, \$1,000
2011	Distinguished Freshman Scholarship, UNT, \$5000

Professional Development*Certifications*

2020-2021	Recipient of the Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization's (CJGSO) Certificate of Professional Development (CPD). Attended at least four professional development sessions and completed at least six hours of service during AY 2020-2021.
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Courses and Workshops

2022	Missing Data Winter 2022 – Statistical Horizons <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Twelve modules on a range of missing data-related topics including how to address missing data using maximum likelihood, multiple imputation (e.g., Markov-chain Monte Carlo, multiple imputations by chained equations), interactions, panel data, and non-ignorable missing data.
2020	Introduction to Panel Data Using Stata – Stata NetCourse 471 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic concepts Random-effects and fixed-effects models Probit, Logit, and Poisson models Endogeneity and dynamic models
2019	SWACJ HLM Workshop: The “How Do I Do That Again?” (or For the First Time) Guide to Multilevel Statistical Modeling. Hosted by Dr. Wendi Pollock.

Brown Bags

2019-2020	Time Management Navigating Academia Mental Health/Burnout
2018-2019	Mentoring CV Burnout Conference Do's and Don'ts Navigating academia Publishing

Service

Department and University Service

- 2020-2021 President, Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization (CJGSO). Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU. Created Blackboard repository for organization, certificate of professional development, student newsletter highlighting student accomplishments, two-long term organization positions, and statement of support.
- 2020-Current Member, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion College Committee for SHSU's College of Criminal Justice – Collaborate with faculty and staff from the College of Criminal Justice to promote diversity and inclusion.
- 2020-2021 Chair, Teaching and Research Development Committee. CJGSO. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU.
- 2019-2021 Member, Service Committee. CJGSO. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU.
- 2019-2021 Walk-a-Mile Volunteer. CJGSO. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU.
- 2018-2021 Student representative for incoming and prospective students. CJGSO. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU.
- 2018-2021 Member, Social planning committee. CJGSO. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology. SHSU.

Discipline Service

Ad Hoc Manuscript Review

Crime & Delinquency

Journal of Criminal Justice Education

Forums and Newsletters

- 2021 *Recognizing the Immigrant Experience in Graduate School and Academia.* Critical Activism Spotlight in the Division of Critical Criminology and Social Justice Member Newsletter, Volume 29, Issue 1.
- 2021 Panel Speaker. Transgressing Racial, Gender, Sexual Boundaries: A Discussion for LGBTQ+, BIPOC, and International Students panel, June 4th Anti-Racism and Intersectionality Forum.

Membership in Academic and Professional Organizations

American Society of Criminology

Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology

Division of Cybercrime

Division of Policing

Division of People of Color and Crime
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
Southwestern Association of Criminal Justice
Latina/o/x Criminology (LC)